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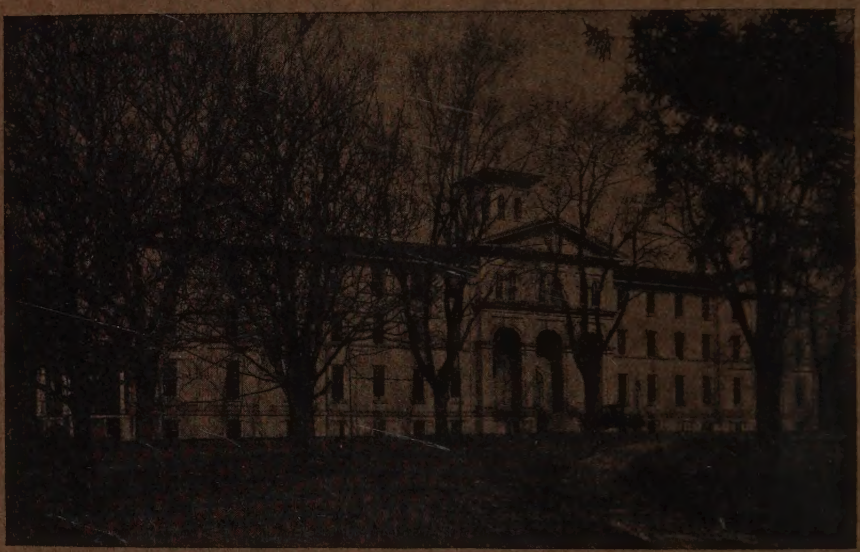

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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PROTESTANTISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

MILTON G. EVANS
Crozer Theological Seminary

PROTESTANTISM, like earliest Christianity, had its birth in inner experience. For serious men, the within, not the without, is the battle-field where the most tragic struggles are fought. And the epoch-makers in religious history have always been serious. To them the moral problem is the only problem. All others are trivial. Men that hunger and thirst for righteousness care little what men do to them; they care much what they themselves do. To them the only evil that really matters is an evil that issues in an evil deed. They can endure with some degree of composure all the evils that rise from hunger and cold and disease, envy and malice and hatred, but they cannot bear the burden of self-condemnation for their wrong-doing.

The disciples of Jesus were morally earnest. They had followed the righteous John and heeded his call to penitence. They had been accustomed to associate character with the expected kingdom, and knew that sinners had no place therein. The truest interpreter of Jesus was the follower that cared enough for moral worth to renounce all that he had called good, and to accept that which he had deemed only an accursed evil. The aim of Saul, the Pharisee, was peace with God, which was conditioned on moral attainment. The aim of Paul, the Christian, was the same. The Pharisee tried to attain it by works of law, and judged by the legal standard, he conceived

himself blameless, but he had no peace of conscience. He had acquired a morality above the conventional social standards of his fellows. It was his delight to think on things that are true, honorable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, but he failed to embody these in personal life. The discipline of a law that was holy and of a commandment that was holy, and righteous, and good, could do nothing other than reveal his helplessness. It was this moral inability that perplexed and tormented. If it cannot be overcome, there is no joy in life and no escape by death. "Wretched man that I am!" is the only adequate description of one of the noblest products of legal religion. But a change came. The change was sudden, even though it had antecedent conditioning causes. He knows when and where it took place. It was so unexpected that it seemed as though he had nothing to do with it. He had been captured as a prisoner. A will stronger than his had mastered him—a love of righteousness more ardent than his had overpowered him. He acknowledged the mastery, and cried, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Broken in spirit and humbled, he prayed like the publican. The Pharisee had not prayed that way before. Pride gone, worth denied—an unwonted peace of soul is enjoyed. He knows now that *in* him had been a great revelation. The Son of God was dwelling in him, giving a new conception of God and a new meaning to character. The startling change from Pharisee to Christian is tersely put in the biographical note:

> By grace I have been saved through faith, and that not of myself, it is the gift of God; not from works, lest I should boast. For I am his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God before prepared that I should walk in them.

Experience made it inevitable that grace should be central in Paul's thinking—grace from God, through Christ, toward man. God the fountain, Christ the channel, man the receiver: this is Christianity.

But Paul received through Christ God's righteousness, a power to achieve a character acceptable to God. This power he as a Pharisee lacked. It was this moral helplessness from which he wished to be saved. He himself describes the defiling and nauseating horror that gripped him:

> I find then the law, that, to me who would do good, evil is present. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members.

Deliverance came through the grace of God in Christ. He knows this by inner experience. It came as a revelation of a new power, when he yielded himself as a slave to Jesus the crucified. The subsequent experience in conduct attested the dynamic power of the new moral energy acquired.

In Pharisaic opposition to the new method of salvation proclaimed by the followers of Jesus, Saul could appeal to history and to common sense to show that legislative enactments were the only safeguards against license. He could not think of character except as fruit of obedience to ordinances. If law were abolished, and grace substituted, was not repressive and stimulating moral energy at an end? How can forgiveness guarantee good behavior? Can grace have repressive effect on conduct? Will it not open the way to sin without regard to consequences? Such were the questions that naturally arose in the mind of a devout God-fearing Pharisee. Paul's own questions are reminiscent of his own earlier thinking: "Are we to sin because we are not under the law, but under grace?" He knew that these were not the facts in his own experience. On the contrary he valued character more than ever. He knew that sin had no dominion over him for the very reason that he was not under the law, but under grace; he knew too that under grace he felt obligation to do righteousness as never before, and that his efforts bore fruit in an ever-increasing sanctification of life. He felt

that if his Judaistic opponents had not the same experience, they must have made profession of the new faith without sufficient knowledge of obligations involved.

Are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. . . Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men who know the law), that the law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth? . . But now we have been discharged from the law, having died to that wherein we were held; so that we might serve in newness of the spirit and not in oldness of the letter.

"Under grace" is not annulment of moral obligation, for it puts the believer "in law" to Christ. It is therefore as much a summons to goodness as "under law" was such a summons, and it has the decided advantage of being effective. "In law" to Christ is a transforming power; it is "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus."

Paul the Christian had actually found that grace was a stronger motive power than law, and this discovery was so revolutionary in thought, and so demonstrably true in experience, that he could think of it only as a revelation from God. His own moral worth now and his hope of life with Christ hereafter were the gifts of God in Jesus His Lord. It was belief in the fact of God's love as revealed through Christ that impelled him to live the life he knew God required. It was the grace of God that called forth the apostle's deathless energy. As Jesus explained the conduct of the once sinful woman by referring it to gratitude for sins forgiven, so Paul explains his non-legal works as due to the dynamic energy of a gratitude evoked by Christ's love for him.

And that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me. I do not make void the grace of God: for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought.

Paul could well have asked his Judaistic controversalist, " Is no return due from a grateful breast? " and himself have answered,

> I understand not that a grateful mind
> By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
> Indebted and discharged.

Because he was conscious of the " debt immense of endless gratitude," he wrote, " Both to Greeks and Barbarians, both to wise and foolish, I am debtor."

Grace is better fitted than law to call moral states and activities into being, for it acts by compulsion from within, not by constraint from without. The law's requirements are met by the productive power of the indwelling Spirit. Moral acts are not " works of law," but " fruits of the Spirit." The Christian has escaped from the law of the letter, of condemnation, and of death, and is living according to the law of the Spirit, the law of faith, the law of life.

If Paul be taken as illustration of what Jesus actually purposed and effected in men, it is not strange that the differentiating characteristic of the new social group, called the church, was the character of its members. They had a passion for morals. The hypocrite, the coveteous, the mercenary, did not feel at home in such company. They cherished the sayings of their Lord that warned them of literalism and formalism and censoriousness and covetousness; they repeated over and over again in their social gatherings the words of Jesus that called them to strenuous moral conduct, to a task as exacting as building a fortress, to warfare against an enemy that outnumbered; they recalled with joy his compassion for the sinful, his transforming power in their own lives, his assurance of the possibility of victory in every allurement to evil. They found in him the possibility of living a stainless life in a world of wickedness. It is not strange that after the first few years, when all other hopes had proved illusory, when

cherished expectation had not been realized, and when inherited messianic longings had been unsatisfied, they saw in the name of Jesus the only significance of his birth and life. To save from the power of sin in this present age, God became incarnate in the Nazarene. "And thou shalt call his name Jesus; for it is he that shall save his people from their sins."

The apostolic valuation of the character and purpose of Christ necessitated a rereading of the Old Testament. It had to be interpreted in the light of what had happened in history and in spiritual experiences. The stumbling-block of the cross was now discovered to be a signal display of God's loving purpose. This significance was known only to those that believe. That which a Pharisee deemed a shame, a Christian deemed a cause for joy. There is power in the new message of salvation that any lover of power, even an all-conquering Roman, might covet.

I am not ashamed of the gospel; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is revealed a righteousness of God from faith unto faith; as it is written, But the righteous shall live by faith.

The possession of faith in Christ, a personal loyal attachment to him as Lord, even though he was shamefully crucified, furnished a new approach to Scriptures already familiar and accepted as basis for faith and conduct. A new luster shone in pages that were already valued more highly than fine gold. The soul illumined by the Spirit of God in Christ discovered in the entire Old Testament truths and facts that ought to have been obvious.

O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? . . Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins shall be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem.

Repentance, remission of sins, universal proclamation were the abiding results of a reinterpretation of Scripture in the light of the sufferings and the resurrection of Jesus. He had no meaning in the world-purposes of God in history if men anywhere and everywhere could not repent of their sins and be forgiven. The church, reincarnating Christ, so to speak, is God at work in human history, stripping men of their sins, and empowering them to live good lives in an evil world. "As the Father has sent me, even so send I you. . . Receive ye the Holy Spirit; whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." This is probably the most significant suggestion of the character and power of the new fellowship created by Jesus. It is in time what he was in time. He was the manifestation of God in a human person; it was the manifestation of God in a social unit, a fellowship in common experiences of those "who were being saved." It was a fellowship bound into unity not by formulated creed, nor by ritual, nor by formally constituted organization, but in the spirit of Jesus. They felt, if they did not explain the process, that he and they were one. To change the figure slightly, they formed one body, of which he was the head. There is a vital relationship between this group subsequently called the church and their ascended Lord. He is made a permanent and visible and tangible fact in history through them. This was not conceived as dogma; it imposed an obligation. His life and teaching and death were duplicated in the earliest fellowship. They had his feeling of sonship to the Father, his compassion for the helpless and sinful, his forgiving spirit for enemies, his love for their brethren, his willingness to suffer rather than retaliate, his conviction of world-wide spread of their message, his certainty of ultimate overthrow of evil. In brief, they accepted and exemplified his view of God and of the world and of destiny. It was no mere figure of speech for them to assert, "And he is the head of the body, the church." They felt no language too strong

to express their intimate union with the One that gave himself for them. They could not but describe their relation to their Saviour as "crucified with him," "buried with him," "raised with him." Such expressions are the result of "that immediate or unreasoned mystic faith which feels that in devotion to the crucified 'the old has passed away, and all has become new.'"

The whole New Testament as literature has little significance in the spiritual history of man, unless the moral and religious life within be considered the creative force of organization, of ritual confession in baptism and the Lord's Supper, and of formulated intellectual statement justifying feeling and conduct. For the historian to emphasize the ceremonies and forms of government and the creeds of the church is as misleading as it is for a biologist to discourse in his classroom constantly about the morphology and physiology of organisms. The hearer draws wrong inferences from overemphasis or from silence. In enthusiasm of interest in organs and functions, the life that gives meaning to organ and function is disregarded, and often denied. This is the more easily done, since life remains a mystery. Only its phenomena can be expressed in terms of mechanics and chemistry. For this reason it is as easy to become a "materialistic" historian in the realm of New Testament study, as it is to become a "materialist" or a mechanist in biology. Unless the New Testament interpreter has the sensitive moral susceptibilities of the first Christians and their deep emotion in view of God's love in Christ and their ever-operating moral energy created by faith, he cannot penetrate the mystery of the so-called mysticism of the early church. And it was just because the church grew so rapidly in numbers, incorporating within itself hundreds and even thousands that had not the experiences and purposes and ideals of its first members, that emphasis came to be placed upon the external manifestations in creed and ritual rather than upon the faith that generated them. Both Jews and

Gentiles, accustomed to externality in worship, regarding religion as correct etiquette in meeting God at specified times and places, carried over into the Christian fellowship their inherited stress on ceremony and group. Even as early as the later Apostolic age, the church could well be described somewhat as Ezekiel described the Israelite of his day: "Your mother was a Hittite, and your father an Amorite." So Paul knew of professed Christians that belonged to the Christian group, who had observed the required ceremonies, but whose ethical conduct made them as truly enemies of the Cross of Christ as though they still persisted in deeming it a stumbling-block or foolishness.

> Brethren, be ye imitators together of me, and mark them that so walk even as ye have us for an example. For many walk, of whom I told you often, and now tell you even weeping that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is perdition, whose god is the belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.

Had he spoken in Ezekiel's fashion, he might have said, describing those who failed to exhibit the fruits of the Spirit: "A persecuting Jew is your mother, and a scoffing Greek is your father. You are children of ceremonialism and sensuousness wedded."

And the church did inherit both Jewish and Gentile inclinations. Very early absolutely unchristian interpretations were placed upon purely Christian conceptions, that are described by the old words church, holy, and catholic, but exemplified in a new way in the earliest communities. The church, for illustration, was a wholly new group in history. No such group had existed before. It was called into being by Jesus and endowed by his Spirit. It could not be described as a group solidified by economic, or artistic, or philosophical, or esthetic, or political, or even ethical interests. Whatever influence any one or all of these may have had on individuals within the group, they did not originate or perpetuate the

Christian fellowship. The members were consciously neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female. As participants in that fellowship they were new creations in Christ. And the condition of membership was acceptance of the Lordship of Jesus, always confessed by word of mouth, and also if possible by the rites of baptism and of the fellowship-meal. The differentiating character of members of the church was holiness. Their ideal was to be as holy as God is holy. Their idea of holiness was that of the prophets and of Jesus—a subjective, not an objective holiness, a moral quality in antithesis to sin, not a sacramental quality in opposition to secular, or common, or profane. But in a very short time Jewish and Gentile ideas of holiness prevailed, so that there came to be sacred rites, for example, baptism, that in themselves had a saving power in human destiny, and sacred persons, or priests, who by virtue of their sacred office validated the sacred character of times and places and persons. Thus "the holy church" of the New Testament period came to be "the Holy Church" of Augustine, who wrote:

> We believe also in the Holy Church, that is to say, the Catholic Church. For both heretics and schismatics call their congregations churches. But heretics violate the faith itself by false opinions about God, while schismatics abandon brotherly charity.

In spite of Augustine's personal Christian purity of life, by an unfortunate association of words, he gives the impression that a church can guarantee its holiness by antagonism to heresies. In *Sermo ad Catechumenos,* 14, he declares, "This is the Holy church, the One church, the True church, the Catholic church, fighting all heresies." With such meaning attaching to the word, no wonder the later "Holy Catholic Church" could conceive itself to be holy just because it could imprison and put to death "heretics" of undoubted holiness in personal character. The idea of holiness is effectually maintained by excommunication.

The words "one" and "catholic" furnish another illustration of the perversion of a New Testament idea by the introduction of non-Christian meanings. The idea of the unity of the church is fundamental in the New Testament, but it is such unity as is conditioned by a common experience of fellowship with Christ and with each other. It is a life that guarantees fruitage in branches organically connected with the vine. It is a unity in Christ, a participation in his character and in his purposes. There is an easy transition from the idea of unity to the idea of catholicity in the ecclesiastical use of the term; but the word "catholic" does not occur in the New Testament. It is first found in Ignatius' letter to the church at Smyrna:

> Wheresoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people be: even as where Jesus may be, there is the Catholic Church.

It may be difficult to determine the meaning Ignatius meant to convey by the word catholic, whether universal in content of message as opposed to a national religion, or universal in the sense of geographical extension, actual or possible, or universal in the sense of the entire community of believers in the world, in distinction from local communities, or universal in the sense of the great majority of adherents of the church in opposition to heretics. Whatever may have been Ignatius' meaning, it is certain that at the close of the second Christian century, the word catholic meant "orthodox." It also intimated a rivalry with Imperial Rome for universal rule. It was not hard for the words "one" and "catholic" to lose their uniquely Christian significance and to acquire the meanings read into them by later ambitious ecclesiastics. Nothing in history so illustrates the power of social heredity in religion as the swift decline of Christianity from the New Testament portraiture of it to the dogmatic expositions of Augustine. Only one word needed to be added to the phrase "the Holy Catholic Church" to show the direct antithesis of the church

that actually existed in Western Europe to the church that Jesus originated. Innocent III aimed to add the word, and to make the Holy *Roman* Catholic Church the one power in heaven and in earth, to which was committed the destiny of every human soul both here and hereafter. Significant are his words to King John of England:

> Over all he set us as his vicar upon earth, so that, as before Jesus "every knee shall bow," in like manner to his vicar all shall be obedient, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd. Pondering this truth, thou, as a secular prince, hast subjected thy realm to him to whom all is spiritually subject.

But the Pope was living too late in history to establish Roman supremacy. The Holy Catholic Church of the second and third centuries had already signed its ultimate death-warrant by canonizing the New Testament. From the very first the new adherents to the Christian faith continued steadfastly in the apostolic teaching. As years passed, later generations kept in touch with the primitive Christians through tradition both oral and written. Religious and philosophical and political interests heired from pre-Christian associations occasioned controversies within the rapidly widening Christian circles. All disputants naturally appealed to earlier Christian beliefs and practises for confirmation of their own opinions. Some indeed even forged documents and attempted to circulate them as genuine and historical. There was an inevitable sifting of literary documents of the early church in order to ascertain the "apostles' teaching." In some instances the interest was ethical; in others, philosophical; in others, ecclesiastical; in all, legitimate. But the controversies were of the nature of attorneys arguing a case, and the Roman lawyer Tertullian gave permanent testimony to motive and method by coining the name New Testament to describe the Christian Scriptures. He meant by the term an instrument, a legal term, denoting means of proof. In his use of the term, in this connection,

it was an instrument to be used to convince hearers that his opponent was wrong in his statement of fact or of theory. It was the sword of an attorney vanquishing an adversary in court, rather than the sword of the Spirit convicting him of sin. With this emphasis on intellectual processes in controversy, the Christian Scriptures came to be conceived by many as a covenant in the Latin sense of the term *Testamentum,* a set of documents having forensic validity, rather than covenant in the early Christian sense, an account of a new relationship established between God and man by Jesus Christ.

The canonization of the New Testament, whatever motives may have been at work in the process, permanently preserved the records of early Christian experiences and made it possible for any person or persons in the church, who had access to them, to judge of the validity of claims made for them. It was possible, too, for the same Spirit that originated the records to awaken in the reader the spirit and enthusiasm of the first Christians, because through them, by God's grace, he had come to love One whom he had not seen in the flesh, but whose power he now experienced in the soul. And so it happened that while some were using the New Testament as " means of proof," others were using it as a " means of grace." It is no wonder, that our New Testament, thus providentially segregated from other writings, came to be the source of inspiration for counteracting the degenerating influence of misinterpretation of apostolic history and sacramental and legalistic conceptions imported into New Testament words. For throughout the centuries of the paganization of Christianity there were those that cared more for purity of life than for purity of doctrine, for holiness of character than for holiness of office, for unity in brotherly love than for unity of organization, for the universality of divine grace in sacrificial service for world-wide redemption than for universality of world-wide rule through tyrannical denial of freedom of conscience, for the authority of Christ mediated through the New

Testament than for the authority of canonized Scriptures mediated through human interpreters. That is, in every generation of Christendom there were protestants before Protestantism. They became such because they had access to the New Testament, and they voiced their protest on the basis of the New Testament. This was so, because the New Testament is itself a protest against every form of ceremonialism and formalism and literalism, and a dynamic force for personal inward righteousness effected through the Christ portrayed therein. It was the New Testament in a monastery that quieted the tormented soul of a morally earnest monk, and made him the heroic herald of the rediscovered gospel of a moral renewal through faith in Christ only. It was the New Testament in an English university that awakened the conscience and strengthened the will of an ardent patriot, and a lover of the poor and ignorant and sinful.

In Wycliffe's day papal diplomacy and conquest seemed to have given a permanent place to Rome's claims, and made the Holy Roman Catholic Church an accurate description of Western Christendom. But in England the church of the Norman conquest had been imported. It found that Anglo-Saxon Christians had the New Testament in the vernacular. This made it relatively easy for William the Conqueror to refuse to do fealty to Pope Gregory VII for the English kingdom. In the quarrel of English king with Roman pope for temporal supremacy, the king had the advantage. England did not furnish good soil for easy rootage of papal pretensions. Political and economic forces also ultimately thwarted Rome's designs. But the real dynamic of the whole social movement was the New Testament. Politically, Edward III widened the breach between England and Rome, and his subjects generally were losing respect for the papacy. The fight of rival popes, the transfer of the papal residence from Rome to Avignon, the tribute demanded to build new palaces, dwarfed the successors of Peter in popular esteem. Edward rebuked their

greed: "The successor of the apostles was set over the Lord's sheep to feed and not to shear them." Parliament declared that "they neither could nor would tolerate such things any longer." However, the time was not yet ripe for a decisive rupture. The long war with France engaged England's attention. In the train of war followed excessive taxation, pauperism, and disturbance of labor and commerce. The gulf between rich and poor widened. As the church possessed vast landed estates, enjoyed immense revenues, and was officered by proud and lordly ecclesiastics, it increased the hatred and distrust of the oppressed poor. The moral authority of the clergy was waning. Wycliffe described the clergy of his day as men who "left the Holy Scripture to study heathen men's laws, and worldly covetous priests' traditions on the civil and canon law." One thing was needed to crystallize growing discontent into open antagonism to Rome, and that was a man of undoubted purity of character, of love for his fatherland, of sympathy with the ignorant and oppressed, and of learning sufficient to command the respect of the educated and cultured. Such a man was John Wycliffe. At first his activity was political. In denying the temporal rights of the papacy, he had the practical support of king, of parliament, of Oxford University, and of the people. Later, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation he was dismissed from Oxford University. He retired to Lutterworth and became a pamphleteer. He attacked the Catholic doctrine on Biblical grounds. This formal appeal to the New Testament and his claim that every instructed man had a right to examine the Bible for himself threatened the overthrow of papal dogmatism. The natural result of Wycliffe's theory, that the Scriptures were the only court of appeal in matters of religious faith and practise, and that the people had a right to summon even the pope to this court, was that he should translate the Bible into the language of the people. This was his great heresy. For the heresy of reading any portion of the Bible in his native tongue an

Englishman could be deprived of land, cattle, and life. Wycliffe's translation was in purpose and spirit and in contents a Protestant version. He secured irrevocably the principle of vernacular translations.

In Wycliffe's time England was not yet ready for *the* Protestant version so dear to every Christian. There was need of a preparation of soil into which this future version should fall as good seed into good ground. This preparation consisted in extensive circulation of Wycliffe's Protestant doctrines and in a wide diffusion of education. The former quickened the moral and religious sense of the people; the latter widened the breach between intelligent Bible reader and ignorant and dogmatic ecclesiastic.

William Tyndale was contemporary with Copernicus, Columbus, Sebastian Cabot, Vasco da Gama, and the Greek scholars that fled to Italy on the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. All at once the horizon of the world had been widened. A strange curiosity quickened the slumbering intelligence of Europe. The newly discovered science and philosophy and literature of ancient Greece humanized schoolmen. The result was that scholars that loved culture rejected many of the claims of the Roman Catholic Church, even though they did not accept the doctrine of Luther. The printing-press was scattering broadcast the best classical writings. Kings, nobles, and many bishops were patrons of learning. John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, seized the opportunity to reform education. In 1510, he founded a grammar school beside St. Paul's Cathedral. He excluded scholastic logic from the curriculum, and extended the study of Latin and of Greek. He wedded sound learning and religion. In a short time other grammar schools were founded, and the system of middle-class education in England was securely established. The more bigoted clergy saw the danger; and Sir Thomas More wrote to Colet,

> No wonder your school raises a storm, for it is like the wooden horse in which armed Greeks were hidden for the ruin of barbarous Troy.

Inevitably the new learning concerned itself with the Christian Scriptures. Erasmus, prince of the Humanists, wrote:

> I wish that even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and the epistles of St. Paul. I wish that they were translated into all languages, so as to be read and understood not only by Scots and Irishmen, but even by Saracens and Turks. But the first step to their being read is to make them intelligible to the reader. I long for the day when the husbandman shall sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plow, when the weaver shall hum them to the tune of his shuttle, when the traveler shall while away by their stories the weariness of his journey.

The Humanist was voicing anew the heresy of Wycliffe, but he went further. He set aside the Vulgate as the source of Jesus' teaching; demanded a Greek text of the New Testament; and insisted on a literal interpretation of the Greek text when recovered. In 1516, he issued an edition of the New Testament in Greek. By some it was hailed with enthusiasm; by others it was rejected with scorn. Some priests at the confessional warned students against it. But the Greek text had inherent power for scholars. Henry VIII, a patron of learning, issued a royal order that the study of the Scriptures in the original languages be included in the curriculum at Oxford. Cardinal Wolsey gathered for his college the most distinguished scholars as teachers and the most promising students as Fellows. In this way Cardinal College at Oxford became the nursery of Biblical learning. Its teachers and students, emancipated in mind and heart by New Testament study, became the advocates of intellectual and spiritual freedom. Truly, the wooden horse was becoming filled with armed men.

Another preparation of which Colet and Erasmus and Wolsey knew little was taking place among the common people. The revolutionary aspects of Lollardism had been outgrown, but its moral force remained. Through reading of Wycliffe's New Testament and tracts, and the evangelical teaching of his "preachers," and the chastening power of persecution, thou-

sands of Englishmen had been sweetened in temper and made heroic in quiet sturdiness. Thus for more than a century the leavening influence of the English Bible had been at work; so that when Wycliffe's great principle of vernacular translation was reaffirmed in Continental Europe by the brilliant and learned Erasmus, there were multitudes of husbandmen and weavers and travelers eager to fulfil the great scholar's wish. Now was needed a man to bring the England of the Universities into touch with the England of the plow and the workshop. Such a man was William Tyndale, distinguished for classical scholarship and for his knowledge of the New Testament. His oft-quoted remark in conversation tells the story of his place in Christian history:

> I defy the Pope and all his laws; and, if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow to know more of the Scriptures than thou dost.

Like Wycliffe, Tyndale soon learned from experience that

> it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue.

He determined to trust the intelligence of unlearned lay people, and to put into their hands an English Bible translated from Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, and not from the Latin Vulgate. Thus Tyndale combined the principles of both Wycliffe and Erasmus. Events now moved swiftly in that stirring period of Christian history.

The Christian doctrine of justification by faith had been recovered to the church by Luther, who like Paul found no escape from moral helplessness by obedience to imposed regulations. As Paul's experience made him critically selective in the use of the Old Testament, so Luther's new Christian conscience enabled him to assign relative values to New Testament books. For example, he thought Jude unnecessary for laying the foundation of Christian faith; and said that He-

brews had some wood and hay and straw; and, in comparison with Paul's letters, he judged James to be a "right strawy epistle." His experience compelled him to prize Galatians above all other Pauline writings, and his commentary on that letter and on the letter to the Romans, by God's providence, made Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" and Wesley's "Journal" possible.

The Reformation in Germany secured emancipation from the religious control of the pope. The Reformation in England secured freedom from his political control. But in no land had it as yet secured liberty of conscience in belief and conduct. Anabaptists on the Continent and Dissenters in England were all more consistent, from a modern point of view, in endeavor to recreate early Christianity in the sixteenth century civilization. They wished to redefine the church in terms of the New Testament idea of holiness in opposition to the sacramental idea of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. They therefore emphasized the spiritual character of membership within the church. Hence, they were concerned, as were the first Christians, more with the subjects of baptism than with its mode. They denied baptismal regeneration in the interests of Christian character and so refused to baptize infants, and rebaptized adults that made personal profession of faith in Christ. But the mode of baptism was not necessarily by immersion. Indeed in England the Society of Friends so emphasized the inner spiritual experience, that outward forms were not practised. Sacraments themselves are spiritual. Most Dissenters insisted on baptism in some mode, and Baptists came to insist upon immersion because it was the New Testament mode. In brief, all the Protestant movements conserved, in varying degrees, the dynamic power of faith in Christ, but did not know how to secure a stable basis of authority for control of belief and conduct, unless each group dogmatically declared its own interpretation of Scriptures to be the only correct one. The inner experience that at first

passed judgment on literature that freed from the Latin church was lost in the bitter theological and political struggle for ascendency of one Protestant group over another. Each group appealed to the New Testament as justification for its doctrines and practises. In effect, theoretically, a book was substituted for the Latin church as final arbiter of faith; creeds were substituted for sacraments as conditions of loyal membership; regeneration was preached as a Christian dogma rather than experienced as an inward conscious fact evidenced by moral conduct. It is not strange that forces well known to the historian made Lutheranism the State religion in Germany and in Scandinavia, and Anglicism the State Church in England. It is one of the ironies of history that English Protestantism should have rejected the pope, and accepted Henry VIII and his successors as "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England," and yet claim to be the Holy Catholic Church. Catholic, and yet a national church! Holy, and such a king its defender! Of course, there were Puritans and Separatists and Dissenters. The New Testament had not been recovered and translated and circulated in vain. Not in vain had the human reason recovered its self-respect, emancipated by religious experience and by science and by philosophy. The New Testament was still the "sword of the Spirit," even though theological disputants used it mainly as a weapon of controversy.

Bunyan was in the succession of Paul and Luther. He was concerned with his sins. The New Testament was his defense against temptation, his inspiration for well-doing, his pathway to peace. He was not interested greatly in disputes about vestments and sacraments and doctrines and organizations. Outwardly he was living a respectable life; he was endeavoring to throw off one by one the social vices of his day; he was cultivating a moral life. To all outward appearances he was succeeding very well, but he found himself unable to reach his ideal. He came across an old book.

> God, in whose hands are all our days and ways, did cast into my hand one day a book by Martin Luther, his Comment on the *Galatians*. . . I do prefer this book of Martin Luther upon the Galatians (excepting the Holy Bible) before all the books that ever I have seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience. . . Now I found that I loved Christ dearly; my soul cleaved unto him.

He discovered God's grace to be the correlate of faith. "Grace abounding" made faith only the channel by which God mediates a righteousness acceptable to him.

But Bunyan the Dissenter had heired the accepted Protestant doctrine of the unity and infallibility of the Scriptures. He naively makes its passages equally the sword of two warring impulses within. One passage acquits him; another condemns him; one causes intense joy; another brings him to despair. He has not learned to judge passages according to time of writing, mood of the writer, or its character as literature. But his sense of humor saves from severe intellectual struggle; and his quaint remark, "Lord, thought I, if both these Scriptures would meet in my heart at once, I wonder which of them would get the better of me!" is a foregleam of a later day in Protestantism. His chief concern was with the inner life and its outward manifestations in conduct. He was living in a time when holy living was as seriously considered as holy ordinances, or holy, that is, sacramentally dedicated persons. His own "Grace Abounding" and "Pilgrim's Progress," Bishop Launcelot Andrewes' "Private Devotions," Bishop Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Holy Dying," Samuel Rutherford's "Letters," and the writings of George Fox, of Barclay, William Penn, and John Woolman, show the direction Protestant teaching was tending, until it issued in William Law's "Serious Call" and John Wesley's "Journal."

Augustine Birrell says of Wesley:

> You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England.

This high tribute is justly due a man who belonged to the " Holy Club " at Oxford. The name of this club is suggestive of the character of Wesley and his friends. In his earlier Christian experience he stressed formal exercises of self-effort to acquire salvation. He cared for holiness. William Law and he were kindred souls in this respect; but another soul touched him. Peter Böhler, the Moravian missionary, talked of salvation by free grace of God through faith only. In his " Journal " he writes:

> I met Peter Böhler again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek New Testament again, resolving to abide by the law and the testimony.

In another entry he writes:

> In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle of the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. . . Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation.

Here is the New Testament again the source of knowledge as to the character of Christian experience. It is an inner assurance and an outward holy life. The church is holy because it is composed of morally holy members relying upon Christ only for help in the struggle with sin.

> The moment I awaked, " Jesus, Master," was in my heart and in my mouth; and I found all my strength lay in keeping my eye fixed upon him and my soul waiting upon him continually. . . And I sin not today, and Jesus my Master has forbid me to take thought for the morrow.

In this Christian the New Testament ideals of peace and holiness have been realized. Protestantism is rapidly regain-

ing the earliest characteristics of the church. Established methods of worship are disregarded; less stress is laid upon systematic theology; emotionalism finds a place in Calvinism; a heartening faith cheers one who is not sure of his " election "; the poor have the gospel preached to them; any sinner of whatever social condition, whether in the church or out of it, can have peace and holiness through faith in Christ only, if he hungers for it; Jesus is a power for moral reformation. " Evangelicalism " has been regained by Western Christendom. The church now entered upon the wondrous social movements of the eighteenth century.

The Bible is making another contribution to Protestantism. The idea of catholicity is being reinterpreted. It is not the question whether any established group actually is or ought to be universal, so that it can boast of its numbers, its prestige, and its power, and legislate for its membership, but whether its possessions of peace and holiness can be acquired by men of every race. Is every person a potential Christian? Is salvation free to all? Does the church proclaim a gospel that is free only in its proclamation, but not in its acceptance? Andrew Fuller's epoch-making sermon on " The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation " is the answer. Protestantism now inaugurates the world-embracing missionary movements. The " revival " methods of Wesley are taken up by large Christian groups recently organized, and by older dissenting denominations, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, and carried over into Asia and Africa. The church has gotten the early Christian idea that the world as a whole needs redemption and that in Christ the whole world can be saved. Its universality is not due to uniformity in creed, nor in liturgy, nor in form of organization; but in its membership of men and women and children who have peace with God and holiness in social relations.

True, Protestantism is not yet united. Too many denominations have not yet seen the incongruity implied in Bun-

yan's wonder: "If both these Scriptures would meet in my heart at once, I wonder which of them would get the better of me!" One New Testament text has gotten the better of one Christian, and another text of another Christian. Hence two Protestants vie with each other for mastery, as though the texts were clashing with each other for supremacy. This perplexing dilemma is being solved by the historical study of the Bible, and by appreciation of the significance of Christ's gift of the Spirit to the church, and by believing the purpose of inspired Scriptures to be "that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished to every good work."

Rapidly Christendom under the influence of New Testament study is meeting again at the feet of the first disciples, continuing in their teaching and fellowship, distributing to the necessities of others, putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men by well-doing, and holding life and property as stewards of Christ. It is exemplifying both the method and result of Pauline teaching that faith works through love, and love as he described it is "the greatest thing in the world" and in the heavens also. For God is Love and Light.

PREACHING VALUES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

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THE Old Testament was the canon of Scripture used by Jesus and the apostles. In this they read and from this they quoted. It was the source from which the early preachers drew most of their material for their public speech. The sermons of Peter and Stephen, which quite likely are good models of the early apostolic type of preaching, contain a selected résumé of the history of Israel with cogent application. The book of Hebrews, which originally may have been an address, continuously draws on the priestly traditions and makes telling use of the paraphernalia of the tabernacle, all as a foundation on which to build the superstructure of Christian thought and action.

During the first two centuries of the Christian era the old Testament was the only generally recognized canon of the Christian world. Most of the Fathers in their writings make numerous quotations, while some of their epistles are literally mosaics of Old Testament Scripture.

Only gradually did there grow up the conception of the canonicity of those documents of the early Church that we now call the New Testament. But the Old Testament naturally still held an honored and authoritative place in Christian thought alongside of the New.

Gradually this equality changed. The Church in some quarters contrasted the New covenant with the Old. The life, teachings, and death of Jesus was the chief source of interest to all the Church in all the ages. Many pre-Reformation movements were so absorbed in the New Testament as to quite forget or at least neglect the Old. Occasionally small groups repudiated the Hebrew Scriptures altogether because

it was a Jewish book. With the Reformation came a new emphasis on evangelical doctrine. This was nurtured chiefly from the writings of the New Testament. Hence gradually and naturally it attained that preeminence that belongs to it by inherent right. Its central place in Christian life and thought is today recognized almost universally. "The divine charter of the Christian Church is the New Testament" was one of the striking sentences uttered recently by a well-known popular preacher in one of our great cities. This discrimination against the Old Testament, on the part of one who is a doughty defender of the absolute inerrancy of the whole Bible, sounded very strange. It may have been but the spontaneous outbreak of the conscience of a Christian who for the time being forgot the boundary-lines of his dogmas. Missionaries have always followed the same principle and have first told the story of Jesus, then translated the Gospels, then the Epistles, then the best parts of the Old Testament. Only bit by bit and hesitatingly have they placed the whole of the Bible at the disposal of the new converts from paganism. In our own denomination, it is of course a commonplace that the New Testament is the ground of our faith and practise, and some of those whom we think of as ancestors insisted that the Old Testament had no authority over the Christian.

This general attitude, no doubt, places honor where honor is due, but thereby the Old Scriptures have suffered an eclipse. This of itself, if there were no other reason, would lead to the neglect of the Book.

But there are other, and perhaps more serious reasons for this present attitude. The Old Testament is no more easily understood by the Western mind than it was by the eunuch whom Philip addressed on the way down to Egypt. It is an ancient Oriental book, and how can a man understand except some one guide him? In fact, in large areas of it the average intelligent member of our congregations finds himself in a desert, wild and barren, without chart or compass, and only

here and there the twinkle of a star that seems to point him in the way of religious truth. Can we be surprised, then, that he does not take many excursions into such seemingly unprofitable territory? In the case of not a few preachers, it is feared, the same statement may not be very wide of the mark.

But beyond this the book has always presented certain grave difficulties to the Christian conscience. In parts there is the acceptance of a morality to which we cannot assent. The brutalities that were perpetrated, often on the wholesale, and the immoralities that were practised, and that with the sanction or even at the command of deity, can by no dialectic be made acceptable to the conscience of one who has pondered the New Testament and been touched by its spirit. The arbitrariness of Jehovah on many well-known occasions finds no support in the fatherly idea emphasized by Jesus. The fundamental thesis of many of the early religious ideas of the Hebrews, as the relation between sin and suffering, and between goodness and reward, is directly challenged by later writers such as Job, and is repudiated by Christ. The different attitudes of different writers in different periods, as the pre-exilic and post-exilic prophets, or that of different individuals in the same period, as Micah and Isaiah, or the eighth-century prophets as opposed to the priests, as well as the unrealized predictions of generation after generation of prophets, these all create serious confusion in the minds of many who are most loyal to the New Testament truth.

Again, old easy-going methods of interpretation are fast disappearing. The allegorical method, which has so invariably yielded to each interpreter the fruitage of his own imagination, has because of the resultant instability of its conclusions, been discredited in most quarters. It lends itself to a type of apparent originality, and has often been the medium of much profound piety as well as picturesqueness in the pulpit. Like garlic it appeals to certain tastes, and no doubt nothing else can yield to them just the same flavor. But when

in the Bible, Brown finds only brown and Green only green, it is quite apparent that each sees with his own peculiar squint. The lack of agreement is certainly not due to the sacred page but is the result of personal astigmatism or the colored lenses that are used. To the allegorist, the Scripture has been but the pool of water in which he has found mirrored his own intellectual and spiritual countenance. This leads to the most pronounced individualism, and no matter how free its lip service, it has never given true homage to the Scripture.

Nor is the popular proof-text method any better. It is easy. Texts or parts of texts can be marshaled in serried ranks, marched in full-dress parade, and with much blare of trumpets made to storm the citadel of the enemy. But strange to say, we find our friend the enemy, with as large an array of as imposing texts from the same Scripture, proving that we are infidel, agnostic, atheist, or at least that we are still in the days of our ignorance. Both of these methods of using the Old Testament, just because they can be used to prove anything, prove nothing. The Mormon elder naively quotes the passage, " Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," to prove that those over whom the Mormon ecclesiast pronounces the marriage ceremony are married for eternity and enjoy the same relationships there as here, while those whom they divorce here are eternally divorced. They quote Scripture, but they prove—well, not the point of contention. Yet they are no worse in their methods than many a Christian dogmatist. Such methods are really ruled out of court not only by their results, but by the discerning historical spirit of the age.

In place of a haphazard, happy-go-lucky approach to the Bible, this generation is quite familiar with the demand for the study of the text in its context and the complete knowledge of all the historical conditions under which any message was given.

But this is never easy, and herein lies the fourth reason for the present-day neglect of the Old Testament. Not only is it not easy, but such careful, thorough-going study as this demands is difficult. Perspiration must ever precede inspiration. The reverent attitude toward the Scripture as toward all life is ever necessary, but prayer and faith alone will never reconstruct the times in which Moses lived or suggest the actual historical conditions out of which the message of Isaiah came. A devout piety is valuable in bringing ancient truths to the modern mind, but that will never unlock the treasures of a Hebrew lexicon.

In some respects our Old Testament is not unlike the great mounds that dot the surface of the Babylonian valley. Here is protruding a stone, yonder the spade of some itinerant explorer has uncovered a row of bricks, but most of the evidences of triumph and defeat lie buried beneath the accumulated sand-heap. Yet each of those mounds holds for the patient explorer the complete story of an ancient civilization with its romance and its heart-burnings, its divine aspirations and human limitations. Patient labor at the hard task will alone bring to light the story of days gone by and enable us to share in the sorrows and the joys of the ancient nation builders and learn the wisdom that was their guiding star.

To skim the surface of that Old Testament mound is not without value. Stray texts dissociated from their soil may often sparkle like diamonds removed from their setting. But to dig deep, to mine, to quarry, or better still to explore diligently all the strata of that ancient life, is to uncover treasure of the most exquisite kind. It is to hear again Sinai's thunder, to enter a land of promise, and to triumph over the giants of the land. More than that, it is to feel the growing pains as the life of the Israelitish nation was developing in complexity and intensity; to move along with dreamer idealists who were whole-heartedly following the gleam; to participate in the age-long spiritual struggle for a heritage that was moral and spir-

itual. It is to watch the horizons of human thought ever broadening, while old things—imperfect conceptions of God and man—pass away and all things—the outlook on life and religion—become new.

But these values, which unquestionably are found in the Old Testament, are not the private preserves of the theologian or philosopher. They should, in constantly growing measure, become the personal possession of every preacher and the inheritance of his congregation.

Still further difficulties beset the reader and the student of the Old Testament today. Modern critical study has to the minds of a great many people turned the whole of that ancient literature upside down, and has consequently robbed them of all comfort and certainty in their use of it. The student of this literature has tried to face fearlessly all his problems. He believes he is often able to illuminate many of the dark corners in these ancient pages and even make the weary desert stretches blossom as the rose, but sometimes his findings and the way he presents them are very disconcerting. Science has not confirmed the idea of a flat earth which was the only cosmology with which the Scripture writers were acquainted. History has not been able to find Darius the Mede, or a captivity of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar in 604 B. C., or the evidence that Antiochus Epiphanes was slain between the sea and the glorious holy mountain. Geology tells us of many deluges but knows of none that covered all the mountain peaks of earth. Anthropology ponders the racial relationship of Shem, Ham, and Japheth and is puzzled to find where the Mongolian, the Bushman, and the North American Indian come in. Chronology, when reading the Babylonian and Egyptian records that push us into the dim past beyond 5000 B. C., is nonplussed by the genealogical lists that provided Archbishop Usher with the data for his conclusions.

In fact, the field of Old Testament history and thought has been a center upon which the lines from many different

branches of study have converged during the last century with results no less disturbing than illuminating. What at one time seemed to be foundation pillars of Old Testament thought, has suffered so greatly from the candid work of the laboratory that the casual reader often queries what will become of the whole superstructure. Not a few, realizing in part what is happening in this domain of study, only occasionally and very timidly venture within the precincts of the book. Years ago a young preacher of unusual gifts, after a conversation on the critical results in Old Testament study, when questioned as to what was going to be his attitude replied, with no little concern in his voice, " I've made up my mind I'll leave it alone, I'll stick to the New Testament and those moral and spiritual truths of the Old of which I am certain." We are not surprised at this rather too common reaction to the situation. In these days of transition, due to the enrichment of our field of knowledge, it is unfortunate that so many have left the study and the use of the Old Testament in the hands of the critical expert and the unthinking pedagogue. This can result only in most serious loss to the fascination, the strength, and the vision of the modern Christian pulpit.

Having said so much about the difficulties encountered by the reader of the Old Testament and the consequent lamentable neglect of it, it would be unfair to proceed further without drawing attention to two considerations. The present neglect of the Old Testament, in the opinion of the writer, is relative rather than absolute. In comparison with what we, the Christian church, should know we are woefully ignorant. But no generation of the past can throw stones. True this is no excuse for present indolence or ignorance, but we need not be utterly cast down. Today there are being issued from the press more books that vividly and accurately interpret this ancient Oriental life and literature than ever before in the history of the church. They are the product of the pulpit, the conference, and the lecture-room. They have been

listened to by congregations of all types and sizes up and down the land. They are broadcasted by distributing agencies and find their way into every hamlet throughout the land. Statistics, we know, should not be considered an infallible barometer of life currents, yet they suggest to us that the Old Testament occupies a very influential place in the thinking of our own generation.

The other consideration is this, that some parts of the Old Testament have but slight, if any, preaching value. In the ancient Babylonian mounds there are a good many spadefuls of dirt that will reveal no treasure. The student of the Old Testament has to admit the closeness of the parallel. That pastor who has been made the scapegoat of the old story of the mutilated Bible, that at the end of a ten-years ministry was handed to him by a parishioner with the remark, " This is your Bible, this is all you have used in ten years," was quite possibly a more Bible-loving man than his critic.

No man has any business, even if he could, to preach all the Bible, or more correctly all the Old Testament. It is a vast literature, thirty-nine books, many of them lengthy and composite, and most of them quite condensed. To the most unthinking there are in it grave inequalities as to spiritual values. Not often are the pages of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, or Leviticus smudged with pious thumb-marks. Yet, how we turn almost unconsciously to the Psalms or Isaiah for inspiration and for help! This discrimination has in it more of finality than has any abstract, theological argumentation. It is written in the flesh and blood of the community and listens to no dogma.

A very devout Christian educator said only a few years ago, " There are parts of the Old Testament I would not read in public, no, nor even in private in my own family." He knew the Old Testament not only in our glossed-over translations but in the native tongue of the writers, and he was wise. Some chapters breathe that Oriental atmosphere and play with

those relations of life and passion that do not inspire kindliness or promote purity of life. Others show the depths from which the people were digged.

Abraham was a good man in his own day and generation, but for the Christian conscience he was overmuch married. No doubt, but that according to his light he was exceedingly religious, but some of his acts and ideals were certainly colored by his pagan environment. Moses was a leader whose importance even tradition has scarcely exaggerated, yet modern courts of justice would scarcely absolve him from the guilt of acts that are reported to have been commanded by deity.

The character ascribed to Jehovah in the early day was not far removed from the ideals of his servants. Murder, extermination of the enemy, placation of deity by a gift or by the performance of magical rites, arbitrariness and vindictiveness, these are not the conceptions of God that we preach. It is this unchristian element, wherever it is found, that is neither normative for us today nor of homiletic value.

The attitude of Jesus here, as elsewhere, is our sufficient guide. His use of the Scripture of his day was eclectic. Not only did he give short shrift to many of the traditional requirements of the orthodox schools of the time, but in most unequivocal language he wiped the slate clean of one of the fundamental principles of their ancient ethical system: "Ye have heard it said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (Exod. 21 : 24; Lev. 24 : 20; Deut. 19 : 18), but I say unto you . . ." (Matt. 5 : 38). At the expense of the cherished letter of the old revelation, he placed in the very forefront of his message that lofty, spiritual ideal, which was rare in the early days of Hebrew life and was often neglected in the days of the later prophets.

In his teaching, he leaves no place for an arbitrary, irresponsible, vengeful deity. The hewing in pieces of Agag, the ruthless slaughter of women and children of the enemy, the annihilation of a family or the decimation of a tribe because

of the sin of an individual, the spirit of the imprecatory Psalms, these and kindred features would receive no countenance from him who said, " If thine enemy smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also."

From this, however, it must not be concluded that all such sections should be eliminated from the Old Testament canon. For historical purposes they are invaluable, even though they may not be fruitful for personal practise or for pulpit use. Like the discarded crutch or the carefully folded baby clothes, they may serve to bring to remembrance past infirmities, or become the symbol of a passing stage in growth. They cannot well be used by the healthy, full-grown man, either for walking or as covering. Those parts of the Old Testament that are the expression of the ethics and religion of the childhood of the race, constitute the background out from which the more perfect conceptions stand in marked relief. It is chiefly that part which shows progress in morals and ideals and embodies, in part at least, ideals akin to those of Jesus, that is of greatest value for the modern pulpit. Needless to say that here lies a wealth of material such as has been drawn on by few preachers modern or ancient.

If the Old Testament is a store-house holding such inestimable riches, the prime question then is, How may we possess ourselves of its treasure? It would surely be considered very strange if the contribution derived from a knowledge of the original language did not first claim our attention.

It is true, that the gospel may be fluently and helpfully preached without any knowledge of either Hebrew or Greek. No less true is it that the master of these languages is sometimes the most dismal failure in the effort to meet the intellectual and spiritual needs of the average congregation. It is also a fact that some of the most confident dogmatists in regard to the meaning of the Bible have a profound ignorance of the languages in which it was written and a childlike trust in the *ipsissima verba* of the King James translation.

At best all our old translations are lamentably inadequate. Any translation, even the very best, as Moffatt or Weymouth or Goodspeed in the New Testament, fails to preserve the flavor and the suggestiveness of the original language. But in the Old Testament we are still listening to the accents and the religious prejudice of a group of English theologians who have been in their graves approximately three centuries. We honor them for their works' sake, and their cup of service to humanity is full to overflowing. But the man who wishes to be a religious leader owes it to himself and his people to possess at least the key to a better understanding of ancient writ.

In these busy days the task of mastering a language is considered by many of our impatiently practical leaders altogether too arduous. However, the longest road round is still sometimes the shortest road there. Not only does a knowledge of Hebrew enable one to enter into sympathy with the various Old Testament writers and estimate the movements therein in morals and religion, as nothing else can, but it opens up fertile fields for the most fruitful work of the pulpit. This is impressed on one in reading Alexander McLaren's sermons on the Psalms in the Expositors' Bible. While the great preacher parades no academic lore, the reader is always conscious that the author is in close sympathy with the language and the nuances of thought of the original singer. A good part of the vividness and the emphasis of the sermons of Sir George Adam Smith is derived from the same source.

For substantial values then, we may go to the root meaning of the great words, follow them along the pathway of the centuries, watch them grow up, stand beside them in the hour of their illumination, and listen to them as they point the people to the heart and mind of God.

Glance, if you will, at the ethical vocabulary of the Old Testament. This requires only a small knowledge of Hebrew along with the patient use of an unabridged lexicon. Even a casual survey indicates the richness of the field. Words ex-

pressing ethical ideals, or their opposite, form a very numerous group. They seem to express all shades and degrees of the ideas of good and evil. Right, just, pure, clean, kind, gentle, humble, holy, good, indicate only a few of the words for virtue. The negative vocabulary, as to sin, to fail, to miss the mark, to rebel, to be twisted, to transgress, to be vapid, is even larger and more suggestive. Beyond individual words there are numerous descriptive phrases, and beyond that the varied illustration and telling story that carry us into a moral world with an urge that is ever upward.

All of these words, in their native habitat, are rooted in simple concrete acts. All of them took on color from the economic and social life of the changing years. Justice and righteousness, in their history, go back to judgment and right, and still further back to the decision of a judge or of a group of people, hence back to the thing that was customary or normal. What is to us the ethical quality might be exceedingly primitive. Abraham did not tell Pharaoh all the truth, but he was following the course that in those days was quite normal or right, in dealing with the foreigner. Indeed, while Pharaoh and his house are greatly plagued, Abraham, who seems to us the real culprit, is greatly increased in substance. Samuel may not to us wear the halo of a saint as we find him over the dismembered body of Agag with bloody sword in hand. But according to his inherited customs his act was normal, righteous, if you will, and he was well pleasing to Jehovah.

But as the moral sensibilities were awakened by the divine Spirit, the consciences of the leaders became tender, and all of these words were transformed. With the advent of the eighth-century prophets the change in the atmosphere is definite. Righteousness does not now necessarily mean the ancient practise, it is that which is due a man by virtue of his personality. It is straight justice irrespective of ancient inheritance. These simple-minded men were blazing hot with

indignation against the prevalent and long-practised iniquities, and all these words ring with a new meaning. They sting and blister as they fall from lips that must have appeared savage to their contemporaries. Even to suggest the whole story of the regeneration of these great words is quite impossible. But their horizons were lifted. They were no longer to be confined within tribal boundary-lines. Their content, tempered in the crucible of human struggle, was purified, and their ruling motive deepened. Righteousness became more human, more lovable, and more universal. Holiness, which began life with a magical, non-ethical connotation, was quickened with moral life until it achieved the primacy in moral and spiritual excellence.

The story of each word will bear out this general fact. The good became better, while the evil was looked on as more detestable. A slight parody on a well-known poem has in it a world of meaning:

> Word in an ancient scroll,
> I see you in your context,
> I watch you, root and all, as you grow.
> Little word, but if I could know
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> Then would I understand aright the text.

Who then would use a Bible concordance, that appendix to the proof-text method, when he may so easily turn over the leaves of a Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew lexicon and appropriate its well-minted coin? What buried treasure lies within its covers awaiting only the explorer. Is mining there too strenuous for the pastor who is so busy with the management of a rapidly growing machine? Is there not the danger of becoming a cog in the machine rather than a driving force in the Kingdom? May it not again be that while we are "busy here and there" a valuable servant may escape?

But Hebrew philology does not exhaust the values of the knowledge of the original. Its contribution is in fact about

the least important. It is now about fifteen years since a pastor in Scotland published two very interesting volumes, "Sermons in Accents" and "Sermons in Syntax." The title in both cases accurately indicates their contents. Think of it; a pastor carefully noting the accents on the Hebrew words and the syntax of the sentences, and then bringing the results into the pulpit. Pretty dry sermons! "All right for Scotland, but wouldn't go in America." Surely an American audience is as able as any other people to appreciate thoughtful work. Our important churches do not show any particular distaste for listening to ministers from the land of the heather.

Try Psalm 1 as a sample of the suggestiveness of Hebrew syntax. The first word is not the tame "Blessed is" of all our translations. It is best described as the equivalent of our vocative and translated by "O the blessedness of . . ." How this opens the windows for the flight of the imagination! How expansive! How expressive, though the gesture lies beyond the bound of mere words! Verse three tries to do justice to it by way of picture and illustration. Verses four and five are the black background which add to the luster of the central figure. They are like an arresting thunderbolt from the blue. "Not so, the wicked, not so," (following the LXX) is the emphatic negative which throws the dark background on the canvas. Then the last verse of the poem uses the idea of that intimate fellowship with Jehovah in which there is no lack, in order to round out as adequately as speech might, the meaning of the first word, "O the blessedness of . . ."

Always the emphases and contrasts, the lights and shades, are almost inaccessible to the reader in English. The poet sings about the fragrance of the rose, but the poem does not reproduce the odor. So the interpretation in English can never convey to the reader the fine flavor of the original, but fortunately we may all visit the rose garden for ourselves.

Not less important is the constraint that even a slight knowledge of the speech of Israel would lay upon us. It would

steady our utterances and perhaps enable us to avoid some unfortunate mistakes. Inaccuracies are the easy snare of the public speaker. The first word in the Scripture may serve as an illustration. "In the beginning" is the rendering found in almost all versions. Yet it is very doubtful if the Hebrew word does indicate this absolute idea. Any beginner of the language will naturally turn to the latest lexicon or the most recent commentaries, and there he will most frequently find that there is a decided preference for the circumstantial clause, "When God began the creating of the heaven. . ." Some of the old theological contentions about origins have rather uncertain support in this verse. But, then, to be sure of our ground in the treatment of all the Bible is difficult, impossible. Difficult? Undoubtedly, but accuracy ought to be an ambition in the heart of every religious leader. An upward path, but a delightful one, while on the other side we are warned by an ancient proverb, *Facilis descensus Averni.*

But the Old Testament is available to many of our best people only in a translation. Knowing that it has not the flavor of the original and it is not in all cases absolutely accurate, may it provide legitimate material for the public use of the conscientious teacher?

The use of stray texts which is so popular immediately comes to mind. What a veritable garden of flowers the Book is for those who are expert in this method? Appealing phrases are scattered over almost every page. "Moses hid his face," "They shall mount up with wings," "He went up the mountain," "He passed over," "Go forward," "Stand still," "Mephibosheth was lame in both his feet," "A basket of summer fruit," "Lord, I knew that thou wert an *oyster* man," "Top-not come down," etc.

How these lend themselves to the racy imagination of, I shall not say the preacher, but of the impressionist! But after all, the fruit gathered is only wind-falls. They may serve a good purpose, but they are not likely to add to Biblical knowl-

edge nor to develop the historical sense of the hearers. Why not take "Humpty Dumpty" or "Old Mother Hubbard" as the point of departure and see the method in all its glory? A good discourse, scintillating with wit and humor, with the necessary didactic accompaniments could be developed from the first, and a philanthropic appeal with much pious unction would be very appropriate to the second.

What is likely to appeal to some as most absurd, is unfortunately a fact. After reading some of the church advertisements and hearing some of the sermons that are preached, we scarcely wonder if occasionally the movie caricatures the clergyman as the public mountebank.

But no man need be driven to such straits as these. He has a book, no matter what translation he uses, that has in it greater possibilities for the preacher than any other, apart from the New Testament. Though he may not be an expert in exegesis, there are lives and currents, ideals and triumphs which can be, in the large, understood without the mastery of prepositions and tenses. A man need not be familiar with every fossil in all the strata of the earth in order to appreciate the large general divisions of geologic history.

Here the saying, "History is only the biography of great men," is truer than amongst most peoples. It is the continued story of great men from Abraham down to Judas Maccabee. They were all men of flesh and blood, living out in the open or playing their part in the street and the market-place of life. Often we have full-sized portraits, while again we see but the dim outline of a man behind the scenes, or it may be we hear but a voice and seek in vain for name and face.

What a motley throng! The eleventh chapter of Hebrews does not exhaust the roll of heroes and martyrs. Abraham is one of the early characters to claim our attention. How his figure towers before us as we gaze out into the desert! He was a pioneer in Israel. He was a part of that nomadic life that the historian now knows so well and that is so vividly de-

scribed in the narratives in Genesis. He was the leader of the immigrant Israelites, but he was also part of a larger movement. North Arabia had been pouring its surplus population out east and west for almost five centuries before this patriarch appeared on the scenes. Then he was only one among many. A religious man? But so were all the other leaders. Religion was universal. Other immigrants were before him in the land, they built altars, offered sacrifices, and made vows. They had conceptions of deity and constantly sought his favor. He was then the representative of a movement, the spokesman of a multitude, all of whom were yearning to know God.

But Abraham was the friend of God, in whom he expressed a marvelous faith when he offered Isaac as a sacrifice. But we know that child sacrifice was altogether too prevalent at that time. His neighbors had done the same thing from time immemorial. Nor do we question the religious fervor of any who thus expressed their allegiance to deity. But this "friend of God" did not offer his son. That was a new day in religion when a sincere, unselfish man was so guided that he was able to break with the religious customs of the past and walk in the way of a nobler faith and a nobler view of the nature of God.

Read between the lines the struggle of the pioneer. It was a struggle with his inheritance, the customs and the orthodoxies of his fathers, a struggle with his environment, the desert, his neighbors and his friends, the natural and the human. Study the subjective conflict that lay behind the triumphs of this man. Was it easy to leave his fathers? Easy to give way to Lot's herdsmen? Easy to follow the old way of child sacrifice? Easy to blaze the trail in new religious conceptions? Easy to understand the ways of divine leading?

"The friend of God"—and yet there is the under-side of the story. He was a persistent prevaricator and a bigamist. He was a man of his own generation. So were our forefathers

who trafficked in rum and slaves and were still officers in good and regular standing in our ecclesiastical bodies. "Friends of God" also! How ethics have changed through the centuries! How they shall change on the morrow! Will the next generation of Christians advance beyond our standard in interpreting the principles of the Master? Will they look askance at the president of a corporation that holds wages to the minimum and profits to the maximum? Will they put into their offices the magistrate whose eyes are blinded by a bribe or keep within their membership the betrayers of public trust? Will they think of sin only in the terms of the beast, or will their ideals and their standards be those of Christ in which the mind and the motive are central? Progress has been made and will yet be made. Still Abraham was the "friend of God." His willingness to learn, his loyalty to his light, his fearless practise of his ideals, constitute him one of the pioneers of religion for all time.

Almost every Old Testament character is in himself a sermon or a series of sermons, all in the concrete, and easily adapted as the media of great truths to our own day. These men, all, in a world that was very much like the one in which we live, in very human ways expressed their moral and religious convictions, many of which have stood the test of the critical centuries and have taken their place among the ideals of the best people of our own generation. Dr. James Hastings, the noted Scotch editor, who has so recently passed away, opened up to us the whole field of Old Testament biography and its possible pulpit use in his "Great Men and Women of the Bible" series of books. The field is open to every willing preacher, and there is no dearth to the wealth of the material.

But these men were under divine guidance only part of and links in great movements. Here the preacher, who has that perspective that is gained through a little familiarity with his Old Testament, is able to interpret the forces that were at work in history and make clear the significant currents of

life and thought. This will naturally lift his congregation into a realm above the pretty, the provincial, and the pessimistic. It is said that during the presidential campaign in 1908, an overenthusiastic devotee of Taft, who trembled for the fate of the world if his favorite were not elected, was one evening taken by a friend up into an observatory and shown the wonders of the heavens. At the end of an hour's observation of the wonders and the stability of the heavenly bodies, turning to his friend he quietly remarked, "Well, after all, it doesn't make very much difference who is elected, does it?"

When we know the story of a thousand years of Israel's life, or of any other people for that matter, some of our provincial enthusiasms and fears are likely to become shadowy as we catch a glimpse of the steady onward and upward march of God and good in the past.

> Our little systems have their day,
> They have their day and cease to be,
> They are but broken lights of thee,
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

If you want a theme that indicates how God works in the midst of little things, study the changes in the laws of the Hebrews during their millennia of history. See how changing conditions in the economic and social world make their definite contribution to all such customs. Learn how each succeeding generation had to adjust itself to the expanding life. Mark the upward tendencies that frequently accompany such changes, revealing the growing ideal and a more adequate conception of a just and righteous God, a God who through the play of those inescapable forces in human life, which are the expression of his nature, is leading the nations even in their civil affairs.

By way of illustration, we may notice briefly the condition of the servant or slave in the olden time. Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, furnishes an illustration of what were

the well-known conditions during the nomadic period. (Gen. 15 : 1-4; 24.) The law in Exodus 21 : 1-5, 17, 26, 27, gives the regulations that governed the relation of master and slave in the succeeding period, that of agricultural life. Passing to Deuteronomy 15 : 1-18; 12 : 12, 18; 16 : 11, 14, we find an industrial life as the assumed background, and the law again differs in order to meet the changed conditions. Leviticus 25 : 39-55 records further changes that took place for the benefit of the slave. The conditions of the poor workman were being bettered with the advancing civilization. The forces at work are seen in the history and were much the same as those in operation today. Follow down to the New Testament, and we find in Philemon no suggestion of legislation but an emphasis on a spiritual attitude. That spirit, that was already embodied in the law and so beautifully expressed by Paul, led ultimately to the abolition of slavery in England in 1838 and later in the United States.

Or a knowledge of the laws in the Old Testament touching Sabbath observance might be illuminating to the congregation and helpful in these changing days. Did the changing conditions in any way affect those regulations? Did nomads, agriculturalists, and industrialists respectively, come under the same laws, and were they expected to observe the Sabbath in exactly the same way? In different periods what are the different reasons that are given for its observance (e. g., Exod. 20 : 11; Deut. 5 : 15)? Why in all pre-exilic literature is it ranked on an equality with the new moon, while in all the post-exilic literature it occupies a position of peculiar prominence? What marked developments were there in later Judaism? What was the attitude of Jesus to the requirements of the law touching the Sabbath, and what was his guiding principle?

These questions savor somewhat of the classroom and require the use of a Bible and a good Bible dictionary, but they supply the background for a series of sermons, in which

all the material may be drawn from the Bible; and what is just as important, all the Biblical material on the topic may be utilized. Such a series should be interesting to intelligent folk and should really strengthen the fathers in the faith.

Or similarly, a study of the Old Testament tithe would provide material for laying the firm foundations for a discussion of a topic that is just now very much to the fore. The writer has to confess that after he has read some of the modern tractates on the theme, a sort of cynical itch has threatened to corrode his penpoint. A thoroughgoing study of this question, making use of all the Scriptural material, putting all in its historical setting, should greatly clear the atmosphere and place emphasis where emphasis is due.

Or a study of the laws relating to the altar, the symbol and the central feature of worship, would produce a wholesome result. To follow the changing regulations amid the growing life of the nation and to understand the history and the significance of those changes, is to understand in part, not only the insistent craving of the human heart but also the ways of God with man. (Cf. Exod. 20 : 24-26; 1 Kings 7 : 48; Deut. 12 : 3-7, 13, 14; Ezek. 43 : 13-17; Rev. 21 : 22.)

Equally informing and profitable sermon material may be found in the study of the great moral and religious ideals. The scope of such work has no limit. Here we find, in its most concrete expression, the growth and the development of all kindred ideas. Beginning with the simplest and most primitive conceptions we are led on stage by stage, through the pages of history, prophecy, and law, and see unfolding before our eyes, first the shoot, then the stock, and finally the full ear in the shock.

Themes of vital modern interest waylay the alert student in every nook and cranny in the book. Here, in the restless days of the Judges, is seen the result of growing prosperity. There, with Elijah, we are brought face to face with the growing ills of an advancing civilization. Hosea, a century

later, is quite confident that there are great benefits accruing from civilization, for Jehovah is the God of all those processes. (Hosea 2 : 8.) Or do we wish to study the influence of international relationships? The Old Testament is a commentary on this, writ large. The conquest of the Canaanites, so long and painful, so disastrous yet so educative; the episode of the Gibeonites; the division of the kingdom, its causes and results; the constant conflict with Syria, with the divergent attitudes of the different prophets. So we might pass through all the crises of the national life, and on every hand are themes that are most inviting and most modern.

The study of the development of thought is nothing short of fascinating to any one who wishes to read God's thoughts after him. Here is a revelation of his methods which any one may easily read. On the one hand we may watch the unfolding of the idea of the atonement, or on the other that ever-living, ever-changing, often challenged, always confident note, the messianic.

These only hint at the sweep of the Old Testament horizons. They are challenging enough for our best energies, vital enough to stimulate our churches to a splendid activity, Biblical enough to make the strongest possible appeal to every Christian conscience.

Difficult? Perhaps so. But we do not imagine that Alexander McLaren attained his rare mastery of pulpit eloquence and Biblical exegesis by following the line of least resistance. We rather suspect that in every age and in every calling the men who in a small or a great way have done the things worth while have been men who paid the full price for their success.

The minister has many demands upon his time and strength, but there are some things he can neglect only at his own great loss. An intimate acquaintance with his Bible, the Old as well as the New, the disregarded parts as well as the favorite patches of the peripatetic controversalist, will alone enable him to divide rightly the word of truth. The bottom

would naturally fall out of the traditional sermon barrel, with no real disadvantage to the flock over whom the Lord has made him an overseer. His ministry should not be doomed to the usual three-year period; he himself would grow in power and vision as an expounder of the Word, and his people would not easily be blown about by every wind of doctrine.

LEGALISM IN THE CHURCHES OF PAUL'S DAY[1]

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THE bane of religion in all ages has been legalism. The words of God's prophets intended to teach principles have been interpreted as rigid legal enactments or "commands," and God's favor or "salvation" has been made to depend on unquestioning "obedience" to "laws." Even at the present day there seem to be many people who depend for acceptance with God upon "works of law," to use Paul's phrase, rather than upon faith, and this idea is sometimes carried to such a pass that faith itself is confused with obedience to "commands," as if it were possible to acquire faith by compulsion.

"If you are not circumcised according to the custom of Moses you cannot be saved," the words of "certain persons who came down from Jerusalem" addressed to the Greek disciples at Antioch, the first noteworthy community of Christians outside of Jerusalem, are typical of all the shibboleths of legalism. The adherents of legalism (who are generally unconsciously so) say: "If you do not believe as we do with regard to some doctrine or interpretation of Scripture, for example the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, or the Second Coming, if you do not practise or perform or celebrate certain rites, ceremonies, or rituals 'according to the custom' of 'them of old time' you cannot be saved."

These people forget or rather do not realize the import of the fact that Jesus said in substance in this very connection, "You have heard that it was said to them of old time, 'Thou shalt or thou shalt not do or say thus and so'; but I say to you that God judges by the thought and intent of the heart,"

[1] For a more complete discussion of this subject in its relation to the development of early Christianity see "The Rise of Christianity," by the same author, University of Chicago Press, 1924.

and that he always placed the emphasis on the inward and spiritual, not on the outward and material, and was not particularly concerned with the rites and ceremonies of the established orthodox religion of his day. They fail also to realize the significance of Paul's great words, "He is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is that true circumcision which is outward in the flesh, but he is a Jew [i. e., a person acceptable to God, the word Jew meaning "praised"] who is one inwardly, and circumcision [i. e., cleansing] is of the heart, of the spirit, not of the letter, whose praise [real Judaism] is not of men but of God," and that if he were confronted with the present situation in our churches he would undoubtedly say, "He is not a Christian who is one outwardly, nor is that spiritual cleansing which consists in outward rite or ceremony, but he is a Christian (a true follower of Christ) who is one inwardly, and real spiritual cleansing is of the heart, of the spirit not of the letter, whose praise [real Christianity] is not of men but of God."

It is the purpose of this article to hold the mirror of Paul's experience up to these good people in order that, if it be possible, they may recognize themselves and see the injury they are doing to the cause which they are anxious to promote. For it should always be remembered that the modern legalist is sincere. It never helps one's cause to question the motives of his opponents. The legalists now "verily believe" as did Paul, when he was one himself, that they are "doing God's service," and if they could be convinced that they are wrong, they would do as he did and become ardent advocates of spiritual religion.

Of course it is human nature not to recognize or acknowledge that one is in such a category, but like Paul, when the modern legalist studies the facts in the light of Paul's experience, he may find himself "kicking against the goad," and may catch himself asking "What if I am wrong?" And even if Paul's experience should have no effect on the older legalist

whose religion has become stereotyped, it may deter some younger man from following in his steps.

As soon as Paul began to preach his "good news" of "freedom from law," he incurred the bitter hatred and opposition of the legalists among the Jewish disciples. The cause of this opposition was the same as in the case of Jesus—the inevitable struggle between the legalistic and the spiritual conceptions of religion. As in the case of Jesus, Paul's message was diametrically opposed to that of these pharisaic legalists. There was no room for both points of view, and one or the other had to give way. It was, as it always is, a battle to the death. Paul calls these people "false brethren" in his letter to the Galatians; but they are usually known as "Judaizers," from the word he used when censuring Peter for yielding to them on the occasion of a visit to Antioch, the word "Judaize" meaning to conform to Jewish law and practises.

These people taught that a person who desires to become a Christian must "obey" all the "commandments" of the Scriptures, and accordingly be circumcised and keep all the rites and ceremonies of the Law of Moses. Their arguments were based on the Old Testament writings, which were the only "Scriptures" or Bible at that time for Christians as well as for Jews. The promises were made to Abraham and his descendants, and in consequence, messianic deliverance or salvation was only for Abraham's children, either by blood or by adoption. If therefore a Gentile wished to secure salvation, he must become a son of Abraham by adoption, that is to say, by submitting to circumcision, and observing the rites and ceremonies of the Mosiac law. They accepted Jesus as the Messiah, but held that he had not interfered with Judaism. Like the modern legalists they were sincere in their opposition to Paul, believing that his course would destroy the religion "once for all delivered" to their fathers. The great temple and the synagogue worship would ultimately be forsaken and Judaism would be no more. The only thing to do was to compel every

one who desired to become a Christian to obey God's "commands" as they were clearly set forth in the Bible, chief among which was circumcision.

There were strong arguments which they could use for their contention, and that they made good use of them is seen from Paul's rebuttal in his letters to the Galatian and the Corinthian churches. They quoted passages from the Bible showing that "the promise" of messianic deliverance was only for Abraham and his seed, and "commanding" circumcision as a perpetual rite for all who were to be included in "the covenant" which God made with Abraham. They said that Jesus had not done away with the Law of Moses but on the contrary had spoken words that involved its perpetual observance: "Do not think that I have come to abrogate the Law or the Prophets; I tell you truly, till heaven and earth pass away, not a jot or a tittle will pass from the Law until it is all fulfilled." They said that Jesus himself had been circumcised, and that he kept the law, paying the temple tax, celebrating the Passover, etc. They pointed to the fact that the apostles at Jerusalem were at that very time observing all the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law.

When Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch after their missionary journey in the province of Galatia, "they gathered the church together and reported how God had been with them, what he had done, and how he had opened a door of faith for the Gentiles" (Acts 14 : 27). News of this report was carried to the church at Jerusalem where the strict Pharisaic party was especially interested, and suspicious of the part of it referring to the reception of large numbers of Gentiles without their first "obeying the commands" by submitting to circumcision. It is very probable that Jews from Pisidian Antioch had been to the Passovers in Jerusalem during the past two years and had reported the clash that had occurred there between Paul and the synagogue. It was then, in no friendly spirit that "certain individuals came down from Jerusalem to

Antioch and taught the brethren, "If you do not have yourselves circumcised after the custom of Moses you cannot be saved.'" At any rate Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by a prominent Greek convert named Titus, went up to Jerusalem, "to see the apostles and elders about this question."

When they arrived a public meeting was held, and they were "received by the church, the apostles and the elders." At this meeting "they related all that God had done working through them among the Gentiles." This was the opportunity for which the legalists were looking. It would never do to let the Gentiles be saved without "obeying" all the "commands." So "certain men who had belonged to the sect of the Pharisees but were now believers, got up in the assembly and said: 'Yes, but Gentile believers must be circumcised and ordered to keep the law of Moses.'" This of course was the signal for a church fight, and the apostles and elders wisely dismissed the assembly.

"Then," says the Acts account, "the apostles and elders met together to consider the matter." This is the meeting of which Paul tells in his letter to the Galatians. For him it was the most important meeting, a private conference with the "authorities." Here we have first-hand information written not more than two or three years after the conference took place. The question at issue in this meeting was whether the Old Testament law was binding on all Christians. In particular must Gentile Christians be circumcised and keep the law of Moses. Some representatives of the legalistic element of the church contrived to be present at this conference. Paul refers to them severely as "false brothers," and says they "stole their way in to spy out the freedom [from the Law] we enjoy in Christ Jesus, that they might enslave us again." Titus became the special point of their attack. The Judaizers urged that he should be circumcised. At first the leaders were inclined to yield and tried to persuade Paul on the ground that it would be in the interests of harmony and would satisfy the

Judaizers and do no harm. Paul, however, saw that the whole principle of the Christian's freedom from the Jewish law was involved, that it was not merely a local, but a universal issue, and that "the truth of the gospel" was at stake. So he "refused to yield for a single instant to their claims."

Paul's argument at this meeting of the leaders was based on the fact of God's approval of his gospel of freedom from the Law as shown by the lives of the Gentile converts of whom Titus was present as an example. They had "received the Spirit not by doing what the Law commands but by having faith in the gospel message." "When they recognized the favor of God," Paul says, "that had been bestowed on me (that is to say, God's approval of my work among the Gentiles) the so-called 'pillars' of the church, James and Cephas and John, gave myself and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship." Further dispute was to be avoided by a division of the field. "Our sphere," Paul says, "was to be the Gentiles, theirs the Jews." Thus Paul completely won the recognition of the "pillar" apostles for his work among the Gentiles, and they laid no restrictions upon him, "made no additions" to his gospel. "All they asked" of him was that he should "remember the poor," and Paul said, "That was the very thing I was anxious to do myself."

The Acts account of the private conference refers to Paul's chief argument in saying that at the meeting of "the apostles and elders" they "listened to Barnabas and Paul recounting the signs and wonders God had performed by them among the Gentiles." It tells also of a second public meeting afterward of "the apostles and presbyters together with the whole church," at which no doubt the decision of the leaders was made known and a cordial letter was sent to the Gentile churches at Antioch and vicinity. When this letter was read before the Antioch church on the return of Paul and Barnabas "the people rejoiced at the encouragement it brought."

The conference at Jerusalem did not settle all the ques-

tions likely to arise from the conversion of the Gentiles to Christianity. It dealt only with the main question of whether the Gentile converts must obey the Law and practise circumcision. Another problem scarcely less important to the early Christians soon arose—that of the social relations of Jewish and Gentile disciples. Their traditions forbade the Jews from associating with other people. They believed that to eat with Gentiles made them ceremonially unclean. The Jewish Christians outside of Palestine of course found this restriction very inconvenient, and this was especially true when large numbers of Gentiles became disciples. As soon as it was recognized that the restrictions of the Mosaic Law were not binding on the Gentile Christians, the question naturally arose as to whether they were binding on their Jewish brethren. If they were not " essential " or " fundamental " in the one case, why should they be so in the other?

When Peter came to pay a visit to the church in Antioch some time after the Jerusalem Conference, he found that the Jewish and the Gentile disciples had solved the question in a manner satisfactory to themselves and were visiting one another and eating freely together. It was a very natural thing for the impetuous, kind-hearted apostle who had seen his Master eat with " publicans and sinners " and heard him condemn the legalism of the Pharisees to fall in with the Antioch custom. This was Paul's territory, and he probably felt that the regulation of the social relations of Jewish and Gentile converts here should be left to Paul. With Peter it was now a mere matter of expediency. He had come to the point where " neither circumcision avails anything nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love " (Gal. 5 : 6).

The Jewish legalists, while they had been compelled to submit to the majority ruling of the Jerusalem church in recognizing the release of the Gentiles from the exactions of the Mosaic Law, by no means considered that this meant the release of the Jews also. When they heard that Peter was

mingling freely with the Gentile Christians and eating with them, they sent a delegation to remonstrate with him, and "when they arrived he drew back and held aloof, because he was *afraid of the circumcision party.*" How modern this sounds! There are so many preachers and teachers now who would break the shackles of legalism if they were not *afraid* of the legalistic party in the church. Peter was in a dilemma when the Judaizers came. If he continued eating with Gentiles he would separate himself from his brethren at Jerusalem and "lose his job" as leader of the Jewish Christians; if he did not continue as he had been doing he would offend the Gentile Christians in Antioch. It was natural for him, since he regarded it as a question of expediency, to keep in with the Jerusalem people so as not to lose his influence and work in his own field; and his example was followed by all the other Jews, including even Barnabas.

Paul saw that it was no time to temporize. There was danger of losing all that had been gained. If Peter's action should go unchallenged it would "compel the Gentiles to Judaize" (obey the Law of Moses) in order to have fellowship with the great "pillar" apostles, and so would base salvation on "works of law" instead of upon faith in Jesus Christ. He publicly rebuked Peter before the whole church, telling him that he was acting a part in which he did not believe, since after having acted as if the Law was not binding even on Jews, he was now acting as if it must be observed even by Gentiles. He no doubt felt also that Peter was violating the agreement reached at Jerusalem by entering his field and by example preaching "works of law" to his Gentile converts. The rebuke was evidently effective. It was in accordance with Peter's character to acknowledge his error and return to his own field. Paul again saved the day for free spiritual religion.

While they had been defeated at Jerusalem and again at Antioch, the legalists had by no means been convinced or even silenced. They had conceived a deadly hatred for Paul, and

as is always the case with people of the static and legalistic type of religion, they thought that whatever was contrary to their views was pernicious and utterly subversive of their ancestral faith, and that they would be "doing God service" in destroying it. They determined by all means, fair or foul, to stop the progress of Paul's "gospel"; and they decided that the most effective way was to go into his Gentile mission-field, claiming to represent the original gospel from Jerusalem. During his long absence in Europe on the second missionary journey they "cut in on his rear" and found their way to the churches of Galatia, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe.

Pisidian Antioch was good ground for such an attack because of the definite break there between Paul and the synagogue, and the consequent strong Jewish opposition to Paul. The Judaizers began their attack by denying the apostolic authority of Paul and representing him as a man who knew nothing about Christianity except what he had gained from the real apostles at Jerusalem, and that he had perverted this to suit his own interests. They asserted that Paul was trying to "please men" or gain popularity and incidentally large "collections" by preaching a gospel free from the Mosaic Law. How modern this sounds. The legalist now often says that the preacher of spiritual religion is seeking popularity by making religion easy. They accused Paul of insincerity and inconsistency, saying that at times he preached and practised circumcision as in the case of Timothy; and at other times condemned it, when it did not suit his interests. In consequence they claimed that Paul was an enemy of the Galatians, seeking to deceive them for selfish glory and aggrandizement. Thus they used the usual poisonous argument of religious controversy—impugning the motives of those who hold different opinions. Many people when they feel that they are being worsted in a "religious" argument, begin to call names, as the Jewish leaders did when they could not answer Jesus. They

said, " Thou art a Samaritan [the worst name they could think of], and hast a devil " (John 8 : 48).

This legalistic campaign among Paul's Gentile converts seems to have been very successful. The Galatians were " readily changing " from Paul's gospel. They were observing Jewish festivals. Some of them had probably accepted circumcision or were upon the point of so doing. The reasons for the success of the legalistic teaching are not difficult to surmise. Religion based on legal requirements, formal rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices was similar to the old pagan worship of the Galatians and more easily understood than Paul's spiritual conception of Christianity which is still too lofty for many people. They want specific " commands " so that when they " obey " them they feel that they have placed God under obligation to fulfil his promise and " save " them. The position of the legalists seemed to accord with the teaching of Jesus and the practise of the apostles at Jerusalem. The loyalty of the legalists to the letter of " the Scriptures " was a strong point in their favor. They had a " Thus saith the Lord " for all their contentions. Paul also claimed to stand upon the Scriptures, but his position was not so plain. Literalism is always easy to the unthinking mind. It is so easy and comforting to feel that if you follow certain specific directions—walk up the aisle in a church, take the preacher by the hand, answer certain specific questions, submit to or perform certain rites or ceremonies, i. e., obey certain " commands "—you are " saved." Such emphasis is sometimes placed on the formal that the spiritual is lost sight of, and a person thinks he is saved no matter what may be his true character and attitude toward God and his fellow men—in fact, that he is saved by " works " not by faith.

To the fact that Paul could not go at once in person to Galatia when he heard this disturbing news we are indebted for one of his strongest letters, which has well been called his " Thunderbolt " and his " Charter of Religious Freedom." In

this letter he defended his apostolic authority and maintained his independence of the Jerusalem apostles, and reminded the Galatian disciples of how he had "pictured Jesus Christ the Crucified before their very eyes," and that their genuine Christian experience and assurance of God's favor had come to them "not by doing what the Law commands but by having faith in the gospel message" (Gal. 3 : 2), answered the arguments of the Judaizers, and earnestly called the Galatians back to the pure gospel of freedom from law. He claimed that the Judaizers had perverted the gospel, and that if any one accepted circumcision he would be under obligation to keep the whole Law and would be completely "severed from Christ"; or, in other words, would not be a Christian at all but only a Jew.

Paul's "Thunderbolt" had the desired effect. The Galatians repudiated the false teaching and returned to their allegiance. Some time after writing the letter he visited them again on his way to Ephesus on his third missionary journey, when as Luke tells us he "went through the country of Galatia and Phrygia strengthening the disciples" and, as he himself tells us in the letter to the Corinthians, he "made arrangements for the churches of Galatia in regard to the collection for the saints" at Jerusalem. Gaius of Derbe was one of the delegates appointed by the Galatian church to carry their gift to Jerusalem several years afterward. When Paul wrote to the Romans, about 56 A. D., he referred to his work in the East as having been finished; which he could not have done if the churches of Galatia had not returned to his true gospel of freedom from law; for, as he saw it, their legalistic gospel was not a real gospel at all, and they were "severed from Christ."

The contest was not yet over. During his three years' stay in Ephesus, some Judaizers took the opportunity of crossing over to Europe and following up his work in Corinth, the meeting-place of trade between East and West. If they could have succeeded in seducing this church from Paul, they would

have largely undone his work in Europe and sowed the seed of revolt in both East and West. They did not at first attempt here to get the Gentiles to submit to circumcision, knowing that they could have no success in such a highly cultured community. The Greeks regarded the rite with contempt. Their method of approach was to discredit Paul in order to destroy his work of which they were intensely jealous as being a dangerous rival of Judaism. They probably hoped, too, that some of Paul's converts, when they should give up his gospel, would accept their point of view.

They brought with them letters of introduction probably from some of the leaders in Jerusalem, and called themselves "apostles of Christ" on the ground that they had "seen the Lord" during his ministry, and consequently could claim to have received a commission directly from him. They claimed that Paul was not an apostle because he had not had this privilege, or at the most, he was only a second-rate apostle, having received his gospel from the real apostles at Jerusalem. They said Paul practically admitted his lack of authority by not accepting pay for his services and by the fact that when he was with the church in person he was very meek, and only when at a safe distance claimed authority in his letters. Paul's opinion of them is given in a letter which he wrote to the church shortly after he learned of their advent: "They call themselves 'apostles,' do they? They are counterfeit apostles, dishonest workmen, masquerading as 'Apostles of Christ.' No wonder they do, for Satan himself disguises himself as an angel of light. So it is no surprise if his ministers also disguise themselves as ministers of righteousness. Their end will be in accordance with their actions" (2 Cor. 11 : 13-15).

These "counterfeit apostles" succeeded in creating painful discord in the Corinthian church and formed a strong party calling themselves adherents of Christ in opposition to those who remained faithful to Paul. They evidently joined hands with some who were enemies to Paul because he had written a

letter rebuking them for immorality. The situation became so grave that it ended in an open break with Paul on the part of the church and a rebellion against his leadership. He sent Timothy from Ephesus to remonstrate with them, but they evidently " despised his youth " and refused to listen to him. One man, probably the one most severely rebuked in the letter, openly insulted Paul. It was a serious revolt and threatened to destroy all the work Paul had accomplished.

When this news was carried to Paul, probably by Timothy, he wrote to the church an exceedingly severe letter condemning the " counterfeit apostles " and calling the church back to its first love. This letter was so severe that for some time after it was dispatched he " regretted " having written it. He sent it from Ephesus by Titus, an older and more experienced helper than Timothy, who was to exhort the church in person and try to win it back to the true gospel of faith " apart from works of law." Titus was very successful. The church received his message, repudiated the false leaders, and returned to its allegiance with eagerness and enthusiasm. Paul was greatly encouraged and wrote to them a letter " overflowing with joy and thanksgiving."

Thus the legalists were again defeated, and Paul seems to have gained such an ascendency over them that after this time their efforts were only sporadic and comparatively harmless. When he wrote the letter to the Romans, just before leaving for his last journey to Jerusalem, he no doubt had it in mind to fortify the Christians in the world's capital against legalism by setting forth at length his own pure gospel of " freedom in Christ Jesus." At this time, too, he referred to his work in the East as finished, a clear intimation that the legalistic propaganda had been defeated. His spiritual message, enforced by his vigorous personality and powerful logic, and especially by his devoted life, had conquered in all his churches. Afterward, when in person in Rome, some of the legalists were active against him and were " actually preaching Christ out

of envy and strife," but the victory had already been won in favor of the gospel of freedom. If this had not been the case Christianity would have remained a Jewish sect with little or no influence upon the world, or would have disappeared altogether.

At the present time we need modern Pauls to send " thunderbolts " to churches that are becoming objects of ridicule to " them that are without " as they worse than waste precious time and energy over theological dogmas and matters of individual interpretation, claiming that these are " essential." They tithe mint, anise, and cummin, and neglect justice, mercy, and faith; they strain out gnats and swallow camels, while men all around them are dying of hunger for the bread of life, the " good news " of faith and love; while society is seething with corruption, our nation in danger of selling its birthright for a mess of pottage, and the world is groaning under the weight of the burdens of hatred and war. Surely there is enough evil in the world for Christians to combat without their having to fight with one another. Paul taught that men are " saved by faith " not by " works of law," not by ceremonies, rites, dogmas, or shibboleths; and Jesus taught that all religion is summed up in love of God and fellow man. How long will men who claim to be their followers, bury these real fundamentals of religion under " works of law "?

SOME FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES IN THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION

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It is quite natural, and eminently proper, that Christians of serious mind should ask, "What is the bearing of the evolutionary hypothesis upon those Christian teachings which bring one to the very foundations, and without which Christianity could not be what it is—namely, a gospel of redemption?"

Many had supposed the question had been left behind a generation ago, when the living Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer were storm-centers of hot debate on both sides of the Atlantic; and when in this country, such popular orators as Henry Ward Beecher and Joseph Cook were talking to eager crowds as to whether this new-comer, evolution, might safely be admitted to the household of faith, or whether it was to be interned under suspicion of being an alien enemy, or, summarily destroyed as the implacable foe of the gospel. The bearing of this theory upon the doctrine of God will not here be discussed; nor shall we consider the question of *design* in nature, nor that of the possibility of miracle, in the evolutionary scheme. These are all questions vital and of great interest, but in this paper they are set aside that there may be room to discuss certain doctrines which are more characteristically Christian, such as the nature of man, of sin, the Person of Christ, the atonement, and the Kingdom of God.

The Doctrine of Man

One of the earliest and most persistent objections men found to evolution is that it seemed to degrade man to the brute's level, and so to strike at the foundations of both morality and religion. A second and more careful look into the matter makes clear that even should it be proved that man's body

came up from the dust, through long stages of development and from lower animal forms, the foundations upon which his moral and religious character rests are untouched. Several considerations will justify this statement. First, let us not be so sure that God looks down with contempt upon the animals, creatures of his hands, as we are inclined to do. He would no doubt regard it disgraceful for a man, once endowed with the divine image, to slip back to the merely animal; He may not regard it as at all derogatory for the animal, by His power, to have been brought up to the level of man. True religion and true science consist in trying to see things as God sees them. The flesh of an animal is surely in itself no more humble an origin for man than is dust. Both are equally honorable, if God be the agent in the operation. Such expressions, therefore, as "In His Image or in the image of the beast?" "God or gorilla," present a false antithesis. No sane person would claim that it is man's body that is in God's image.

Furthermore, whatever may be the way in which man came, he is no less than what he is—a man. One is not compelled to go to the book of nature and try to read its mysterious pages, written in rocks and ferns and fossils, to find out that there is in man somewhat that lifts him far above the rest of creation. "A spark disturbs our clod." "Made in the image of God," says the inspired man. Man is the man that he is, no matter how he came. This divine image was discovered by heathen poets, disclosed in Holy Writ, and in a thousand ways made plain to human conscience and in human history before modern evolution was ever dreamed of, and this divine likeness being a fact cannot be destroyed by any scientific theory whatsoever. At some time, whether six thousand years ago, or six million years ago; whether from a bit of dust directly, or through long stretches of upward journey, man the paragon is here. It need not disturb us if we do not know when or how the soul first appeared in the

animal body. Do we know when the immortal spirit comes into the newly born babe? Was it potential in germ-cells? Did it come at the first quickening, or at birth, or in early childhood when the sense of sin and personal responsibility appear? We know it came, and the infant is infinitely above the animal in its spiritual capacities and its destiny. Here is not only sense-perception but a *self*. Personality has appeared —a "realm of ends," sharing with God as a creative energy in the universe. Experience unites with Scripture in affirming that in some inscrutable way there is associated with this animal body a spirit that uses it, but transcends it, which spirit is capable of knowing and studying itself, tracing its own history, as no mere animal does; a personality capable of knowing God and of having fellowship with him. Man's body may link him in likeness to the beasts; it is his spiritual nature that is made in the image of God. No theory of evolution can destroy man's unique superiority over the rest of creation.

Man finds, then, his true place and value in the universe, not by a consideration of the point at which he began, but of his highest reach—not his starting-point, but his destiny. Dust is surely a sufficiently humble beginning. "Dust thou art, to dust returnest, was not spoken of the soul." It is the upward reach that gives man his place and importance. Suppose music began with the beating of tom-toms. Suppose the earth began with desolation and waste. It is the finished product that counts. "The end crowns the work." The Christian theist declares that evolution has a meaning, and that meaning is found in man. Hence when one asks, "Why do we not find man and animals still evolving into something else," the answer is, The climax of the evolutionary process is reached in man. When he appears the process continues not in evolving new species, but in moral and spiritual perfecting of man, the goal of the creative purpose.

So, when some felt that the discovery of the vastness of the universe with its many suns and systems, dwarfing this

little earth and its inhabitants to tiny specks in the vast areas of space, would make improbable man's eternal worth or that the gospel of man's redemption is true, they failed to perceive that true greatness is not physical or spatial but spiritual. The psalmist in similar frame of mind, even before the days of the telescope's marvelous revelations, declared: "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and stars which thou hast ordained, what is man?" The answer is quick and clear: "Thou hast made him but little lower than God and crowned him with glory and honor." "Thou hast put all things under his feet." He is the crown of the entire creative process. Alfred Russell Wallace in his "Man's Place in the Universe" argues convincingly that no other planet than this earth is inhabited by creatures like ourselves, because the chances are infinitesimally small that all the highly complex conditions of size, heat, cold, moisture, atmospheric height and density, changing seasons, etc., which make it possible for man to live, should ever be found so fortuitously combined again anywhere else as upon the earth. The theist would affirm that this is not chance; but fits in with other facts showing man to be the culmination and goal of creation. The whole creation has been in travail, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God, as Paul affirmed. It is interesting to read further, from Alfred Russell Wallace, coworker with Darwin, the statement that the many phenomena of nature clearly imply "a creative Power," "a directive Mind," and "an ultimate Purpose"; which purpose "alone throws light on many of the mysteries of the mode of evolution. I hold the development of Man to be the one crowning product of the whole cosmic process of life development." [1]

Sin and the Fall

The effort has been made by some evolutionists to minimize sin, because under the theory of evolution, sin begins in

[1] "The World of Life," page vii.

animal inheritance, and hence in man there is a seeming lack of responsibility. Some opponents of evolution have also used this argument as against evolution. A deeper look should convince both of these groups of the error in their reasoning. As has been just seen with reference to man, the character of anything is not determined by its beginning so much as by its end. If the beginnings of sin relieve one of responsibility, then Adam's sin, according to the older view, would take away responsibility from the rest of us. But the fact is, sin lies in wrong personal choices, no matter what be our theory as to how it originated. The real nature of sin is not to be confounded with its earliest manifestation. No doubt sin in each individual begins, as with the first man, in uncontrolled animal impulses. What was not sinful in the earliest non-moral acts of selfishness in the infant may become sinful when the time arrives at which the child is capable of exercising moral discernment, and when his life must become socialized. So even if a lower creature did at some point become man (that is, emerged at length into self-conscious personality, with free will and conscience), his animal actions, once non-moral, now may become sin, and do so become, when they thwart and debauch the higher nature with which he has become possessed, and which is the vital and meaningful part of him, as a man. His first such evil choice is his fall. It is not a " fall upward " as some evolutionists have put it—for all sin is downward. The *upward* thing was the coming to moral consciousness, freedom and responsibility. The fall is the free choice of the lower as against the higher nature. The Scriptures themselves tell us that the first parents' first sin was due to a yielding to the call of the stomach and the pleasures of the senses [2] rather than to the voice of God calling them to obedience to their higher, their eternal welfare. That is, man violated the law of God written in his spiritual nature, by yielding to the sensuous appetites. Man, no longer a mere animal, should not have

[2] Genesis 2 : 6.

given way to slavery to the lower impulses, as in the animal. To carry over into a higher stage of development, into the region of conscience and reason, things innocent and natural to the lower, but now debasing to the higher, is condemned as sinful. Personal responsibility for sin can only be rejected by the evolutionist by assuming that man is still only a beast. But he is vastly more than an animal, a being of free moral choice. Under the old orthodox view sin comes to the race through inheritance from Adam. It would therefore appear to be no less ethically dangerous, so far as responsibility is concerned, to pass the origin of sin back to Adam, than to pass it back to a pre-Adamic animal. But the nature of sin is not identical with its beginnings. There is great need of stressing the fact that fundamentally sin is neither Adamic, nor a pre-Adamic taint or survival, but is personal rebellion against God, through choice of the lower, as against the higher nature.

In any theory of origins, then, sin is personal. It is selfish rejection of the will of God as written in our very natures by the Creator, who is trying to bring man up to full character and complete fellowship with himself. Sin, therefore, can not be fully expressed in animal inheritance, or in any biological category whatsoever. It is perversion of the moral nature. It is refusal to cooperate with God, to "move upward working out the beast," unwillingness to let the "ape and tiger die." It is continually shutting one's self up to the lower, when one might, and should, live to the higher. This is depicted in the perpetual struggle of Paul[3] in the battle of the "old man" against the new. This explains why the whole creation still groans, waiting for the complete appearing of divine sonship in man.

The highest of God's creatures, man, has gathered up within himself all the lower elements, carrying them along in the process of development—material, mechanical, chemical,

[3] Romans 7.

the vital processes such as go on in plant and animal life (the *psyche, ψυχή*, of the New Testament), and, above all, the spiritual (the *pneuma, πνεῦμα*), which raises him far above the rest of creation. Well did the Greeks call man the *microcosmos,* or the little world, corresponding to the *great cosmos,* of which he is the culmination. Now, just as the leaf withers and dies when its life is clogged by material salts that it cannot throw off; just as the body dies when it is not able to conquer by elimination the chalk and baser substances of the earth that clog, so sin destroys the soul when by choice, the forces below are allowed to dominate it. Healthy growth, on the other hand, means the domination of the lower by the higher, and the utilization of the lower for the development of the higher. But since all the lower forces are with us from the first, indeed, are first in possession (cf. the little child's animal nature as first to function), life becomes from the very start a struggle between the forces of the animal and the likeness of God that has become man's possession. Hegel was at least right in part, in conceiving of evolution as the resultant of a struggle between opposing forces. Freedom can not be conferred. Man must win his character by a hard fight. A character simply conferred upon man would not be man's character but God's. God might create a being innocent, but not a being with character. This must be won by right choice, right action, struggle, and victory. Surely a life of growing goodness, through God's help achieved, is preferable to one of finished, stationary perfection conferred upon man by the Almighty. Evolution then tells us two very important facts concerning sin: First, it is the dominance of the lower over the higher nature; and second, that it is sin not to grow out of the lower realms of living, ever moving toward the higher; utilizing the lower in the realization of the higher. The mistake of the materialistic evolutionist has been in undertaking to interpret higher forms in terms of the lower. The laws of plant life cannot be expressed in the laws of the crystal;

animal instinct cannot be explained in terms of the chemistry and physics of plant life. So man cannot be explained in terms of animal life alone. The evolutionist must admit that there has been a real evolution; that man has arrived, and *is really man*. It is this that evangelical Christianity is interested in, and insists upon; that man is here, and is a sinner; rather than *how* he came to be man, the sinner.

There has been no subject that has so puzzled thoughtful men from the first as the fact of evil in the world—whether looked at as sin or as pain or as imperfection. Why did God allow sin and pain and death to enter the world? Evolution replies, "Be patient, God has not really made the world yet, it is still in the process of being made." We are not to judge except by the finished product. So, the creation, which was made subject to vanity, is saved by hope; and in his earthly house man groans, longing to be clothed upon with the heavenly. We may add with A. B. Bruce, conservative Christian scholar, discussing the temptation and the fall: [4]

> It is not irreconcilable with the doctrine of evolution. That doctrine teaches that in the gradual course of the ascent of life there arrived, at a certain period, a being who was not merely an animal, but in rudimentary form human. The advent of this being was a great event, for with it began the possibility of moral life. It was a step in advance, in which the Creator might well take great pleasure. But this step in advance, involving indefinite possibilities of further advance, involved also risks of degeneracy, of development downwards. For in the new type of being there were two natures, a lower animal and a higher human, and their possessor would be constantly called upon to choose which of them he was to follow. To choose the higher was to go on in career of moral advancement. To choose the lower was to fall from the dignity he had attained in becoming human. This is the story of the fall from the viewpoint of modern science. Is it very widely different from the account in the book of Genesis?

Many such quotations from eminent Christian scholars might be given to indicate a similar attitude toward this question.

[4] "Apologetics," p. 62f.

The Person of Christ

It is most natural for the Christian, and most vital, that the question be raised, "How does the theory of Evolution affect the Christian view of the Person of Christ?" One asks, Can evolution account for Him? Most assuredly not. Neither evolution, nor instantaneous creation, nor any other theory of the origin of the physical universe, accounts for free personality—human as in man, divine as in God, or divine-human, as in the God-man. Evolution is by no means the only law. God does not exhaust himself in creative evolution. None but the most brazen naturalists, the baldest materialists, would claim that evolution explains everything. While it operates universally, it does not operate solely. A theist may hold that it is one way of divine action, but because he is a theist, he knows that God, as free and infinite Spirit, is not shut up to one law, or to all laws, except to the necessities of his own being. Laws, as we have seen, are simply man's imperfect interpretations of what he sees in a world of manifest harmony and purpose—God's discovered habits, as they have been called. To discover these is to know God's ways better.

God, however, never repudiates, nor violates his own laws. We need not be surprised therefore that when he was about to manifest the highest expression of his free will and character in the Person of Christ, he did not ignore the laws of heredity and environment (of which the evolutionist, in fact, makes so much) but, as Paul put it, "When the fulness of the times came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law." So while heredity and environment by no means account for him, he was not sent altogether independently of the evolutionary process. Even DeVries' hypothesis of evolution by sudden and inexplicable leaps, will not account for a Personality so superlatively above his human inheritance and his surroundings. Even human geniuses have never yet been accounted for by evolution, much less this unique Divine

One. And yet we can see no difficulty in believing that Jesus, the Christ, was potentially present in humanity from the very beginning as "the first born among many brethren," to be historically manifested in the fulness of the times; one who existed in humanity, even "before Abraham was," who was "the spiritual rock that followed us." The Eternal Christ existed eternally in the bosom of the Father. Why may not the historic Christ have existed from the beginning of creation potential in a God-imaging humanity? Was it not from the seed of the first woman that was to come the bruising of the serpent's head?

Here the Christian evolutionist declares Jesus Christ to be the climax, the very incarnation of the Spirit and purpose of God from the beginning, a purpose involved in and wrought out in the entire cosmic process. So, he became not only the "first-born among many brethren," but was "above all, through all and in all." "All things have been created through him and unto him, and he is before all things and in him all things hold together." That is, he becomes the Key, the interpretation of the meaning of the universe, the consummation of a divine world movement. By His Person and work, man may not only find emancipation from the earthly, fleshly, sinful, but in Him there is revealed the ideal God had in the creative process. Being thus organically in the midst of the process itself, He is the dynamic by which redeemed men may attain to that primal, central purpose of God in creation, a perfected manhood in a perfected society. It is interesting to read from Professor N. S. Shaler, one time Professor of Geology at Harvard, "In my own mind, the doctrine of Christ is the summit and crown of the organic series." [5]

While superficially evolution appears to consist in the lower giving birth to the higher, is it not in reality the higher lifting the lower upward to itself? That is a most profound statement of Genesis that the Spirit of God brooded over dark-

[5] "The Interpretation of Nature," p. 275.

ness and chaos and brought light and order from the desolation and waste. So in the Man Christ Jesus, the higher comes down to the lower and lifts it up. Thus he becomes Mediator —man at his brightest exaltation and God at His supreme condescension. And so Christian consciousness unites with the Scriptures in declaring that in Calvary we have the climax of redeeming love.

At once, too much and too little has been made of the virgin birth. Many early Christians, in the supposed interest of our Lord's divinity, denied that he could have had a human origin at all. Many, in the supposed interest of his humanity, have denied that he had any divine origin whatsoever. Some have exaggerated the importance of the virgin birth, both as a way to account for the moral transcendence and unique personality of Jesus, and also as a bulwark of the Christian's faith in him. Several considerations may help us to see this: First, it was not the virgin birth that guaranteed his sinlessness—for sinful inheritances might have come as easily through the mother as through a father. Our Lord's moral triumph of perfection should be regarded as primarily his own, rather than as growing out of the necessity of his unique birth. Second, it was primarily Mary's heart purity, rather than her bodily virginity, that made her the fit vessel for so magnificent a service. As Dr. A. E. Garvie puts it, " It was by a supernatural act of God, in which human faith in the mother was receptive of, and responsive to, divine grace." [6] It may be the perception of such truths as these that partly at least accounts for the fact that such Christian preachers and apologists as Paul, Peter, and John, never in their writings directly make use of the virgin birth as supporting the claims of Jesus to unique character and sonship, or for any other purpose. In other words, while it is difficult to believe that they did not know of it (incorporated as it is in the early narratives as given by Matthew and Luke), they, at least, did not build their

[6] " Christian Apologetics," p. 99.

Christology upon it; always giving the facts that had been wrought into their own experiences with Jesus as the primary basis of their conviction of his divinity. We would do well to give to the doctrine of the virgin birth the same relative emphasis that was given it by the apostles.

This does not mean that the virgin birth is of no consequence. It is just the kind of birth that fits in best with the sort of Person Jesus proved himself to be. And if our contention be valid that the free Personality of God transcends the ordinary laws of nature as well as exists immanent in them, it is not necessary that we should be able to explain his birth by the law of evolution alone. In the fulness of the times God sent forth his Son, born of a woman; just as when times were ready vegetal life was called out of the womb of matter, human life out of the matrix of lower animal life-forms, and his divine Son out of the body of a woman. So in his person there were material elements in his human body; there was the physical life he shared with animal creation, the psychic and spiritual life that he possessed in all points like his brethren; and above all these there was the very essence of the divine nature in the fulness manifested nowhere else. Thus, as God chose to "sum up all things in him," he is not only Lord of all nature, but he, himself, recapitulates all; as Paul declares, he is "all in all, of things in heaven and things in earth." We may close this part of our discussion by quoting words from a philosopher and words from a poet-seer. "A Personality like that of Jesus," says Rudolf Eucken, "is not a mere vehicle of doctrines or moods, but an overwhelming invasion of divine life, at which new life can forever be kindled." And Robert Browning writes, with that religious insight which characterizes his poetry,

> The acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by the reason solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And has so far advanced thee to be wise.

The Atonement

There are elements in the atonement which are not involved in any discussion between "creationism" or "evolutionism." There are common mysteries as profound under one theory as under the other. Of the atonement viewed as a single act on Calvary, evolution from the nature of the case has little to declare. Certainly the biological and physical sciences have little or no message in the realm of personal relationships; and reconciliation is a matter between persons. However, if evolution demands God, as the theistic evolutionist declares; if man is man, a free moral agent (whatever the route by which he came), and if he be a sinner, as we have contended, because of his personal choice; and if God's purpose be to bring imperfect, sinful man to perfect character in a perfect environment; and if Jesus Christ is the supreme revelation of God to man—if these great truths survive the doctrine of evolution, then surely there is no reason to believe that the Christian doctrine of reconciliation through the life and death of Christ will be overthrown by any evolutionary hypothesis. Indeed, all nature and all history seem to supplement the Scripture as records of one single redemptive process. If what we have said up to this point be true, redemption, in the largest sense of that term, is the very purpose and goal of evolution.

Sacrifice is discovered to be a universal law of life, certainly when man appears. It is in some measure seen even in the lower orders of animal life, particularly in the mother love. It is the law of spiritual survival and of all moral progress. The higher we proceed in the order of living things, the more important a place does altruism play in progress. Sacrifice becomes more than a biological necessity, as in animal life, it becomes the constraint of willing altruistic love. Selfish struggle for survival, on the basis of force, is found after all to play but a minor part in the cosmic process. When man

appears, laws of spiritual survival begin to operate—one of the most important and vital of which is *self-giving*. The fittest to survive is not now the selfish; but as the divine Teacher said, he that would be greatest must be servant of all. Under the theory of evolution, redemption is seen as a process, whether looked at from the point of view of the individual or of humanity. This does not deny crises, either in the individual—which we call conversion—or such special events in the life of humanity, as that the Old Testament calls a " day of the Lord," and the New Testament the " coming of the Lord." Modern evolution not only admits of, but demands crises along the road of progress. The greatest of all these crises in the redemptive process and purposes of God was the advent of Jesus Christ to earth, followed by his death upon the cross. There is nothing in evolution that can deny these objective elements in the atonement, those necessary moral events, culminating in the death of Christ; on the other hand, there is very much in it to emphasize the subjective elements. It says that redemption can be achieved only when the redemptive forces become a power working within the sinner. God himself does not, by working outside of us, break the power of sin within us, but gives to us power to overcome by means of resident forces. It is Christ in us who is the hope of glory. Justification by faith is but the beginning of the process of progressive sanctification through the Spirit. Indeed, evolution should give new significance to the work of the Spirit in redemption, for he works within, and progressively, for the realization of the perfect divine image in the redeemed soul.

Regeneration, then, is the inward transformation brought about by the awakening of the lower into a higher sphere of perceptions, appreciations, and potencies by action of the divine Spirit upon and within the human. All new life is born from above. Chemical action of the plants, for example, lifts ingredients of the soil into its own higher nature; so the animal, the plant—born by action from above. But redemption does

not stop with the new birth. It invites us to leave the first principles, and to go on to perfection. Salvation becomes health, wholeness, as in the teachings of the Master. Its end is to be "complete in him," as with Paul.

The revelation of the Perfect One, the Great Exemplar, is necessary to assist man in casting off his imperfections and rising toward the perfect image. But sin made it necessary that there be more than a perfect example, if man would have power to attain perfection of character. Evolution neither affirms nor denies the need in God of some objective propitiation. That question is left just where it has always been; but the theory is in perfect accord with that feature of redemption expressed by Paul when he enjoins, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that works in you." It gives clearer meaning to faith which is always represented with the forward look. Faith is not only receptivity to the higher life, but willing conformity to the spiritual environment, and active participation in the plan God wills to work out in the individual's life and in the world. Evolution helps to restore hope to its cardinal place in the Christian life. The best is yet to be. The apparently flying goal does not mock us. Progress is the law of divine life. All the record of the past gives assurance "that through patience and faith of the gospel we may hope." It is a false fear, then, that if evolution be accepted as true we shall have salvation by education, by civilization, or by culture alone, though it may be admitted that we shall never have a full and completed salvation without these, both as by-products and as assisting agencies.

It may not be out of place to observe, at least incidentally, that theories of the atonement may be better understood in the light of evolution. Environment has had much to do with men's explanation of this great fact of reconciliation. In a Hebrew environment, with its elaborate sacrificial system, the atonement was presented in terms of the altar. Jesus was the Lamb slain for the sins of the world, as indeed he is. Out

in the environment of the Roman world, with its militaristic habits of mind, he was readily thought of as the ransom paid for a captive. In the later period of chivalry, he became the price of offended honor, a theory which held ground for centuries. In days of expanding trade, and trade routes, the commercial theory prevailed. Grotius, a great publicist and international lawyer, made prevalent the governmental theory, at a period when nationalism was the ferment of the world. We need not be alarmed if in a day of socialized humanitarianism, or in a day when men are thinking in terms of a universe of law, they should interpret the central fact of the atonement from a somewhat different angle from that which best helped the fathers to see it. Only we should try to see to it that the particular truth discerned in each of these theories should be conserved, and passed along to future generations. Evolution involves continuity as well as progress.

Evolution and Immortality

If, as we have seen, man is what he is, regardless of the question of his physical ancestry, and if also man be the climax and crown of the evolutionary process, it should not be difficult for one to believe in immortality. Man is not simply body under either theory of his origin. He is mind, spirit, has the likeness of God, is free and moral—a personality. So that all the arguments for immortality based upon the former theory of creation are still valid. In addition to these, it may be remarked that if man should perish with this brief imperfect span of life, all the evolutionary process, the travail of creation to bring him forth, would appear to be for naught and meaningless. Present imperfections argue with new force for another life in which there may be perfect realization. Man is the one being that aspires to transcend himself. He alone has the concept of perfection. If it be unattained or impossible in this life, there must be a life where it may be realized.

Life, according to evolution, requires a correspondence

between organism and environment, and Drummond pointed out the fact that the environment itself rises with every evolution of life. Had there been no spiritual environment above the material, man could never have attained to manhood with the spiritual nature; were there no perfect spiritual environment beyond the material, there could be no perfecting of the spiritual life. According to evolution, nature never evolves capacities for which there is no use. Man's capacities point to a wider fulfilment than is in this life attained. If instincts, as Darwin said, are inerrant in bringing the animal to its best self-realization, why may we not argue that the universal feeling after immortality is the finger pointing to a life beyond life? We may rightly believe that the progress goes on into the next life, making heaven not a condition of static bliss, but of ever-growing blessedness through progressive knowedge of, and fellowship with, God. Paul's "spiritual body" finds its adequate environment in "the new heavens wherein dwelleth righteousness." Thus "mortality is swallowed up of life." Physical death becomes but an epoch in the growth into fuller, richer life. Heaven furnishes environment for an ever-expanding development and progressive approach to the Ideal likeness. "For we know not what we shall be, but when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

The Kingdom of God

Evolution has emphasized the social aspects of Christianity, for it declares that "everything is connected with everything else." The world order is one. "His kingdom ruleth over all." "God hath made of one, 'all.'" All men are brothers. The physical and the spiritual kingdoms are not in antagonism as some of the fathers taught, but both are for the realization of the one divine purpose, the development of "the life of Christ in humanity" as "the supernatural crown of the great order of evolution," as Canon Barry put it.

The Reformation, laying stress upon individual salvation, upon justification by personal faith, tended to obscure the social aspects of the Christian message. Evolution has made for the recovery of the lost note. By emphasizing environment, as a potent factor in shaping of life, in stressing the unity of all life, it has called attention to social sins which are eradicated only by social action, by education and cooperation—often a long process. Thus we should possess a richer Christianity which discerns the need of saving the environment and the institutional life of man; cleaning up life in all its varied relationships, making the tree good that all its fruit may be good. Its program does not involve simply snatching a few souls from the wreck of perdition, but consists in realizing the will of God in the entire world order. It looks to future generations, as well as to the present, and reaches out for their salvation, by planning and striving both for a purer heredity and a better environment. We of today are links in the chain of a higher life for humanity. We must make our contribution to the growing life of the race. There is nothing in evolution itself that insures progress. God calls men to be fellow-workers with him to the attainment of the goal of creation—perfect men in a perfect society. Not to do so, is to be a "castaway." The sin of the man who wills not thus to co-operate with God and his fellows, is seen in clearer light. For God has not only a plan for each single life, but a place for each in the larger plan, into which each must willingly fit, or suffer the penalty of his maladjustment. "We are workers together with God." His will must be realized associatively. Hence, we find the tendency to shift the center of gravity of Christian thought from the precedents of the past to the prospects of the future; to weigh moral values by consequences as well as by past judgments, by considerations that are social and racial as well as those that are individual. Each generation is bound up with all others so that they of the past without those of the present can not be made perfect.

The Kingdom of God then, cometh not with a cataclysmic "*Lo here! lo there!*" but is like a grain of mustard; like leaven, till the whole lump is leavened; like the plant, with "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." It is the progressive realization of the will of God in all the affairs and relationships of human life. In this, God calls us as co-workers.

> Creation's Lord, we give thee thanks
> That this our world is incomplete;
> That thou hast not yet finished man,
> That we are in the making still—
> As friends who share the Maker's plan,
> As Sons who know the Father's will.

We conclude, therefore, that it is but a superficial science which would either undertake to eliminate God from an evolutionary world, or reject those fundamental verities which have given Christianity its vital and invigorating power. Two things must characterize a conquering faith: It must continue to draw its life from its own tested, living roots; and it must continue to show itself capable of recognizing and utilizing light of truth from every source; of adapting its saving message to the mental and moral needs of every succeeding age. That which stands still, decays; that which moves on, abides. Hence, not Judaism, nor Mohammedanism, nor Buddhism, but Christianity is the universal religion, the faith of the future. Both this great world, once for all given to man, and this faith once for all delivered to the saints have been ever-expanding gifts, whose depths of riches have not yet been fathomed, gifts from One who declares, "Behold I am making all things new."

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

THE BIBLE AND SUMERIAN RESEARCH

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No book has been more carefully studied than the Bible: there is hardly a language into which it has not been translated, and a place where it has not been carried by devoted missionaries. And yet large portions of it have been but imperfectly understood, and the problems which still await solution are more numerous than the lay reader generally supposes.

As it is easy to understand, most of the difficulties are to be met in the study of the Old Testament. Reared in a civilization based on an entirely different philosophy of life, we can hardly comprehend expressions and modes of thought which are separated from us by racial differences and by a long stretch of centuries.

The early interpreters did not seem to have come to a clear realization of the difficulties of their task. Instead of being deterred by ambiguities one might even say that they welcomed them, since an obscure passage could be explained in any number of ways, and could be made to support the most fanciful allegorical or symbolical interpretations. With the recent advent of a better historical and critical sense, scholars came to realize that the very respect which they felt for the Bible made it incumbent upon them to read into it nothing except what the Book itself really intended to say.

A close study of the text soon brought out the fact that some passages of difficult interpretation were such because of errors of the copyists, and that the change of a single letter would be sufficient to render the meaning clear. In many instances, scholars were able to restore the correct text by

making good use of some ancient translations, chief among them the Greek version of the Septuagint. Thus arose the so-called "textual criticism," the aim of which was to give us a text representing, in so far as possible, the one originally written.

But new problems soon confronted the student. It came to be discovered that, in many instances, the very arrangement of the Biblical writings into separate books and their assignment to different authors reposed on nothing but very insecure tradition; that the very conception of authorship, as we understand it, was foreign to old Semitic peoples; that quite a number of Biblical books had passed through a long period of growth before reaching their present, final form, and that consequently many of the long accepted opinions as to date and authorship had to be entirely revised. The so-called "higher criticism" undertook this most difficult task, and acquitted itself with a good measure of success. Truly, not all of its results are beyond doubt, and exaggerated claims have unquestionably been made for it. And yet no real student can deny that, by means of it, we have attained a much clearer understanding of our Bible than we could otherwise have possessed.

But, good as the result of this work may have been, the new study carried within itself the measure of its own limitations. The most obvious and clear conclusions once established, one could not long continue such work without carrying it to undue exaggerations, or indulging in claims which could not be easily substantiated. Unless help had come from some other quarter, Biblical scholarship would have had little opportunity for a very rapid advance. Fortunately such help did come.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the spade of the archæologist began to unearth on the site of the ancient Nineveh precious Assyrian records; this work culminated with the discovery of the famous library of the king Ashurbanipal.

There were found thousands of documents transmitted to us in a language very akin to Hebrew, and of a time not distant from that of the Biblical writings. Moreover these inscriptions, laboriously recorded on clay by means of a very complicated system of writing, gave us material for a complete understanding of a civilization that was Semitic, and therefore of the same general type as that of the Hebrews. Many words which had been found only once, or but a few times in the Bible, and the meaning of which was uncertain, became better understood. Many ceremonial practises became clearer and took on additional meaning. Scholars, through the study of cuneiform literature, had at last sufficient material to reconstruct a background for the study of the Old Testament.

This would have been in itself such a gain as to open a new era in Biblical interpretation, but a still greater surprise confronted the workers. It was found that Assyrian literature, besides helping us to understand Hebrew language and Hebrew modes of thought, also offered many close parallels to the stories embodied in the Old Testament. Historical information came to be confirmed and supplemented by the inscriptions left to us by the Assyrian monarchs; while some of the Biblical accounts, such as the story of the Deluge, were found to exist, with very little changes, in Babylonian literature.

Several questions immediately presented themselves: How much of the contents of Biblical and Assyrian writings will be found to be common to both? Were these common accounts Assyrian or Hebrew in their origin? If neither, did they take their shape in a common Semitic environment?

The answer to these questions was far from easy. Most of our knowledge of Assyrian literature had been gathered from the famous library of Ashurbanipal, and therefore from a body of writings uniformly of the seventh century B. C. Obviously much of the material was of an earlier date, but this remained chiefly a matter of mere guess-work.

The uncertainty as to the relative precedence of Hebrew

and Assyrian records might thus have remained for a long number of years, had not a new discovery come to clarify ideas, and place such scientific investigation on a much firmer footing. Among the many tablets found in the library of Ashurbanipal, there were quite a number in a bilingual redaction. These were written in a language which could not at first be understood, but were accompanied by an interlinear translation in Assyrian. For some time students were at a loss to explain what that first language was. A very able and clever French scholar went even so far as to deny that it was a real language, and his opinion obtained a very imposing backing.

And yet there were indications that the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia could not have been entirely Semitic in origin. Assyrian, though certainly a Semitic language, has reached us in a system of writing which not only bears no resemblance to the Semitic alphabets, but is entirely unadapted for a language of that group. The Semitic Babylonians had certainly adopted their system of writing from a foreign people, who had developed it for their own use. Moreover, in the religion of the Assyrians was found ample proof of a foreign influence.

With the progress of scientific exploration, scholars not only were convinced of the early existence in southern Mesopotamia of a non-Semitic people, but also discovered that these non-Semitic inhabitants called themselves Sumerians. Their language, agglutinative like the Turkish, is certainly neither Semitic nor Indo-European. Their place of origin still remains a mystery; we only know that these Sumerians had attained a very high cultural development in the third millennium B. C. After a long series of struggles, they finally succumbed before the weapons of the less civilized but more belligerent Semites. As it always happens in such cases, the more barbarous conquerors were in their turn conquered by the higher cultural standards of their defeated foes, and

adopted from them their writing, laws, religion, and different institutions.

The incorporation *in toto,* on the part of the invading Semites, of the whole system of religion of the ancient Sumerians raises for us a new problem. Which are the originally Semitic elements, and which are the Sumerian additions, in this now united Sumero-Semitic religion? The answer to this may have a very important bearing on Biblical studies. For instance, should we be able to prove that a given story, which parallels a Biblical account, did originate with the Sumerians, then the conclusion would follow that the story is also non-Hebraic. The presumption that it had passed from the Sumerians to the Semitic Babylonians, and from these to the Hebrews, would be so strong, as practically to amount to a certainty.

But, in order to prove any story to be absolutely Sumerian in origin, it was necessary to unearth a large number of Sumerian documents of a literary and religious character, and all of them reaching us from a very early redaction. Such good fortune came to the scholars sent by the University of Pennsylvania to excavate the old Babylonian city of Nippur. Several years of hard and patient toil, centered in four successive expeditions, finally led to the discovery of an old Sumerian library, attached to the temple of the famous god Enlil. There thousands of tablets, embracing all fields of human knowledge, had been collected at a period of about 2200 B. C., and therefore greatly antedating all Biblical and Assyrian writings. Moreover, the contents of that library have proved to be of such a character as to revolutionize many of our ideas concerning the importance of the Sumerian contribution to the Assyro-Babylonian religion.

The last two or three years have been employed by me in the search of such Nippur documents of a religious character as might have bearing upon the Bible. After having gone through all the religious texts which are preserved in

the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, I felt the need to examine also those portions of the Nippur finds which have been kept for many years in the Imperial Ottoman Museum of Constantinople. A most welcome backing for such an enterprise came to me from Crozer Seminary, when I was appointed to the Barnard C. Taylor Traveling Fellowship. During the ensuing stay in Constantinople I was kindly afforded every opportunity for work, and have been fortunate in finding, among many other valuable texts, over thirty tablets of a purely epical or legendary character.

I take this occasion to sketch here some of the main results of my work, since several years will have to pass before all of it can appear in print. This brief survery will help to give an idea of the great amount of new and valuable information that the Sumerian records are ready to offer to the student of old religions.

The Nippur library has already produced, from time to time, tablets of unusual interest. Several years ago Professor Hilprecht published a small fragment, written in Semitic Babylonian, which contained a portion of the well-known Deluge story. The chief contribution of the find consisted in proving that the story of the Deluge was known in Babylonia nearly fifteen hundred years before the redaction of the other and more complete Assyrian story. Some years after, Poebel published another tablet, also referring to the Deluge, but this time in the Sumerian language. This raised a very strong presumption in favor of the opinion that the Deluge story originated among the Sumerians. Still later, Professor Langdon discovered a very important legendary tablet in which, among other things, mention was made of the Babylonian Eve and of the forbidden fruit. More recently, Professor Barton published a very important text which describes the beginnings of civilization, mentioning again the Babylonian Eve and depicting the primitive, half-savage condition of mankind.

My systematic search into the Nippur archives, both in

the University and in Constantinople, has afforded new material which greatly adds to what had hitherto been known. For instance, through Poebel's tablet we had good ground for the belief that the Deluge story went back to the old Sumerians. Now we can prove that the great Gilgamesh Epic, of which the story of the Deluge is only an episode, all goes back to the Sumerians and to the third millennium B. C., since ten portions of its Sumerian original have already been recovered. The argument for the Sumerian origin of the Gilgamesh Epic finds unexpected confirmation also in the existence among the Sumerians of another long epic in which a semi-legendary king, called Lugal-mardu, and a mythological bird, representing the south wind, play the principal rôles. This epic is fairly well preserved, in more than thirty tablets and fragments, now both in the University and in the Constantinople Museums.

Some years ago Poebel and Langdon had published and interpreted a tablet giving us the Sumerian original of a mythical story of the descent of Ishtar, the goddess of love, into the underworld. Portions of that legend, one of the most beautiful of all Babylonian literature, had already reached us in an Assyrian translation. I have now been able to add six more tablets to that Sumerian original, thus obtaining an account longer and more complete than we could have expected. The legendary tablet published by Barton has now four others added to it, that more than double it in length. Last year I had interpreted a Sumerian account of the Fall of Man. Since my first publication of it, two more fragments have come to light; one of them in Constantinople, proving the story to be merely one of a series of legends which recount the origin of civilization and the invention of the art of writing. There is good ground for the belief that one of the stories of this series will closely parallel that of Cain and Abel. The group of legends to which this account belongs embraces already about thirty tablets.

But there is more. In the library of Ashurbanipal a creation story had been found which had very little in common with the Biblical one. This had led scholars to believe the Hebraic story to be independent, though admittedly late. We have now recovered from the ruins of Nippur portions belonging to at least ten different creation stories, and one of them closely resembles that of the first chapter of Genesis.

It is impossible at present to advance an opinion about the relative importance of many other legendary fragments belonging to stories which do not occur in the Bible and have not yet been found in Babylonian literature. When completed and perfectly studied, how much more light they will shed on Hebrew religion, and perhaps also on Greek mythology, it is difficult to say.

What I wish to make clear now is that this work of searching into the records of the past, satisfies not merely a legitimate scientific desire for knowledge, but produces results which have an influence upon our religious conduct. A later article will illustrate the practical ethical bearings of Sumerian research.

NOTES AND CURRENT DISCUSSIONS

The present issue of this quarterly is very largely a Crozer number. It is not proposed that subsequent issues shall be so restricted in the selection of writers; but that representatives of other institutions, and working pastors as well, are to be contributors to the pages of this journal. The American pastors, apparently busy with administrative and other practical duties of a modern "church plant," do not give the extended time to scholarly studies as do a large number of English ministers. A respectable number of these have won no mean distinction by their contributions to Biblical scholarship, in addition to their successful pulpit and pastoral service. The American pastor may well consider the question whether some of the time that he uses in performing minor tasks which might as easily be done by a stenographer or an errand boy, might not better be invested in some scholarly study in the wide range and richness of general religious and Biblical fields.

Dr. Edward Chiera, who has furnished for this issue some comments on critical matters connected with his studies in oriental archæology, has lately returned from Constantinople, where he has had access to a rich collection of tablets found in Assyria and Babylonia. Doctor Chiera was born in Rome, Italy. He took the degrees of Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Theology at Crozer Seminary, and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania, of whose teaching staff he has been a member since his graduation. Doctor Chiera was last year awarded the Barnard C. Taylor Traveling Fellowship by the faculty of Crozer Seminary. During the absence connected with this fellowship, he has been enabled to investigate and read many Sumerian fragments which, together with the large collection possessed by the

University of Pennsylvania, will doubtless furnish new light upon the non-Semitic race which occupied the Tigris-Euphrates region prior to the coming of the Assyrians, and upon the contribution made by them to their Semitic successors. We expect from time to time to have Doctor Chiera furnish for the CROZER QUARTERLY notes giving some of the results of his researches in this little known but fascinating field, particularly as these results may bear upon Biblical learning.

WITHIN the last three or four years the Book of Job, which Carlyle called "all men's book," has had much attention from scholars. No less than four noteworthy treatises upon this Biblical masterpiece have appeared since 1920. The earliest of these was from the pen of Professor Morris Jastrow, whose death was a sore loss to oriental and Biblical scholarship. The next year Professors Driver and Gray gave the world "Job" in the *International Critical Commentary*. These were followed in 1922 by Professor C. J. Ball's, and by Professor Moses Buttenwieser's, "Book of Job." All five of these scholars evince the most laborious study, which must of course embrace a critical examination and emendation of the Masoretic text—unfortunately, very unsatisfactory and corrupt. This state of the text is particularly to be regretted in a book of the poetic grandeur of Job; for in such a writing, an incongruous or meaningless collocation of words seems unfortunate; and scholarly guesses at emendation are sure to yield a bewildering variety of literary workmanship. Professor George A. Barton, of the University of Pennsylvania, in a critical article in the recent number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature,* examines carefully many of these suggested revisions of the text. Professor Jastrow in his "Book of Job, its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation, Together with a New Translation Based on a Revised Text," is quite free to amend. Indeed, all four of the works just mentioned, frequently go behind the Masoretic text, though Driver and Gray are far

more conservative in suggesting alterations. That emendations of some passages are necessary in order to secure intelligibility is recognized by all students. Doctor Barton is of the opinion that such passages, however, are not nearly so numerous as many commentators have supposed. It should not be overlooked that while the fact of the similarity between the forms of certain Hebrew letters with certain others would make errors by copyists quite easy, it is true that the same fact makes revision of the text also very easy. In some cases sense out of nonsense is secured by alteration; in others, no gain results either to the sense or to the poetry; while in still others, the unamended text seems preferable both for sense and poetry. We can not help agreeing with Professor Barton when he says, "A study of the manifold suggestions of revision increases one's respect for the Masoretic text." Carlyle's "all men's book" can hardly give liberty to all men to deal even with a manifestly corrupt text with such abandon as some truly great scholars have shown in their treatment of Job.

The world of scholarship experienced serious loss in the death, within a few months of each other, of W. Robertson Nicoll and James Hastings. The writing of these brief notes in this quarterly has suggested, by contrast at least, these two extraordinary men, whose ability, month after month and year after year, to indite paragraphs full of meat for strong men, pregnant comment upon the best that had been thought, said, and enacted in the wide arena of human interest—the wonder of all who read after them, and the despair of all who tried to imitate. For fecundity of mind and versatility of genius, Hastings and Nicoll have no successors in the field of religious literature, where breadth of learning, width of interest, and editorial skill are demanded. Their loss to religious journalism seems irreparable. Their influence will long abide.

THE "gloomy dean," as William R. Inge, of St. Paul's Church, London, has been called, has been as widely read of late as almost any other ecclesiastic of this generation. He writes with boldness and incision. If at times there be a pessimistic note, it is far from the flippant pessimism of one of his predecessors, Dean Jonathan Swift. Dean Inge is always serious, and pungent withal. His second series of "Outspoken Essays" has challenged attention, as did the first. The most meaningful essay in the later series is doubtless the first discussion, "Confessio Fidei," in which the dean thinks aloud, and lets the reader perceive somewhat of the hard mental journey over which he has traveled in following the surges of the battle which he calls "the conflict between naturalism and supernaturalism." A single quotation from this striking essay will disclose at least its flavor:

> Evolutionists have often assumed that evolution means the mechanical unpacking of what was potentially there all the time, just as traditionalists regard progressive revelation as the better understanding of a faith once delivered to the saints. The word "potentially" is a dangerous one in philosophy. It has often been used to disguise or evade the problem of change, which is not an easy one. The dogma of continuity, which seemed to forbid the addition of any new factor by way of creation, made it necessary, in the teeth of evidence, to assert that the final result of any development was implicit in its beginnings. If our ancestors were apes, then we are cultivated apes, or apes are arrested men. As this was too absurd, science fell back on the admission of real change, but insisted that the changes are slight and very slow. It seems to have been generally forgotten that a small change is as difficult to account for as a great change; the problem is how to explain change at all.

And Dean Inge might have added, the problem is also to answer how it comes about that change moves in one direction rather than another; and why evidences of purpose are so manifest in the changes in nature, on every hand. Referring to the tendency among a certain class of scientists toward a purely mechanical interpretation of the universe, the acute dean observes:

A machine is after all the creation of a purposeful mind. There is no contradiction between mechanism and purpose—an obvious truth which has too often been forgotten in the controversy between naturalists and theists. Mechanism is the teleology of the inorganic world. It is, we may believe with confidence, the work of an intelligent designer, which as we may expect, displays the regularity of any machine that is doing its work.

THE renewed interest in the question of man's physical origin will doubtless turn out to the advantage of sound learning and of sound faith, notwithstanding the warmth of feeling and the misunderstandings that have at times been engendered in the discussion. This fresh interest has called out a large number of popular treatises and many magazine and newspaper articles dealing with the various bearings of evolution upon religious thinking. The people are being educated upon subjects concerning which they had but vague knowledge and upon which a little knowledge was exceedingly dangerous. Religious leaders have been compelled to ask themselves seriously, What, in the light of the modern scientific theories, may I say that will assist those who need guidance, to retain their hold upon the spiritual verities, and indeed, to become richer in their faith by a clearer and profounder understanding of them? This is wholesome. The bearing of new light upon old faiths must be continually the subject of investigation; and the truth has never ultimately suffered by such inquiry.

At first there was, in some quarters, down-right amazement that a battle should be renewed which was supposed to have been fought to a finish in this country about fifty years ago when McCosh and Woodrow among teachers, and Beecher among preachers became storm-centers of debate over evolution. The recrudescence of this discussion, like many other epidemics, good and bad, has been attributed, at least partly, to the war and after-war psychology. All great and wide-spread disasters have put serious-minded men, in quite large numbers, into an apocalyptic frame of

mind. This mental attitude demands catastrophic deliverance as the only possible solution of manifestly gigantic human ills and failures. This cataclysmic way out of our evil plight is diametrically opposed to the steady onmoving of an evolutionary process. The better world to come arrives not by growth, but by overthrow. The theory of development is therefore false and delusive. Besides, those who hold to the apocalyptic conception are confessedly literalistic in their interpretation of Scripture; and it was not difficult to discover differences in view-point between Biblical passages and scientific theories. Wide-spread organization of conservative religious groups in the several denominations and the enlistment of the talents of an eloquent and serious-minded public orator have given widely extended interest to the discussion. It will pass, as it passed a generation ago, and will do good. Among the books that may be found helpful to put in the hands of those who are seeking a popular treatment of this subject, are Conklin's "The Direction of Human Evolution," Unwin's "Religion and Biology," Schmucker's "The Meaning of Evolution," Dr. W. W. Keen's "I Believe in God and in Evolution," Osborn's brochure, "Evolution and Religion." Dr. Howard Agnew Johnston, in a volume entitled "Scientific Christian Thinking for Young People," has undertaken to help youth find its way to faith through some of the uncertainties that modern science seems to have placed in the path. Doctor Johnston, while rejecting evolution as unproved, attempts to be sympathetic with science in general.

It is interesting to observe that many leading exponents of "Liberalism" are beginning to point out a number of its failures. Some who have been trenchant in their criticism of the movement known as "Fundamentalism" have been equally discerning in their evaluation of liberalism. Prof. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, in an address delivered at the celebration of the centenary of the Yale Divinity School, declared that while

"Fundamentalism" is impossible as a program, it has been of great value as a protest. That there has been among scientists a decided trend toward a purely mechanistic, non-teleological conception of the universe, and that this view-point has been widely disseminated and to no small degree absorbed by large numbers of people, can hardly be questioned. Now comes Professor Bacon in an article in the *Yale Review* for October last, in which he discusses "The Success and Failure of Liberalism." Doctor Bacon thinks that liberalism has forced men, through insistence upon the more careful, critical, and historical study of the Scriptures "to translate their essential message in more modern forms." Furthermore, he holds that modern scientific knowledge has been used successfully in compelling a shift of stress from one conception of the *mode of divine action* to another.

> The farther we go back toward barbarous superstition the more prominent becomes the conception of prodigy as the only method by which divine operation can be known. The nearer we approach to the reverent interpretation of it in our own times, the more is God conceived to act in accordance with the uniformity of nature. Even when events occur inexplicable according to natural law as thus far known, we do not expect them to remain unintelligible. . . God, as we know Him, the real and living God in whom we actually live and move and have our being, is "not a God of confusion" but of intelligibility, of order, and of law.

On the other hand, Professor Bacon sees the failure of that type of liberalism which has undertaken to stress "the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer" to the "relative neglect of the story of the cross." "Men have believed in the glad tidings because they accepted the death and resurrection of Jesus as the culminating act in a divine drama of world redemption; not because of the teaching and example of the Rabbi of Galilee, however sublime." It was an "everlasting gospel," and not a system of ethics that won the world.

Professor Bacon holds, too, that some liberalists have made a serious failure in minimizing Paul, in that it was Paul

who shifted the emphasis from Christ as the "external wonder-worker," to Christ as one who works through "an inward experience." It may be the New Testament scholar has stated the case of Paul a little too strongly when he writes, "Instead of depiction of the wonder-worker equipped even while on earth with powers of divinity, Paul in his references to Jesus never alluded to a single instance of such power." Jesus himself conceived of miracles as the last resort of faith; Paul scarcely considers it at all, thinks Doctor Bacon. It was what God did *in* him and *through* him that was convincing. It remains for liberalism, declares the Yale professor, to convince men that what God does in providence and in the working of natural law is just as divine, and as truly a manifestation of power as any miracle can possibly be, whatever one may hold as to miracles of the Gospels.

WHAT is the true function of the Christian church? Many have attempted to answer this question; and it is peculiarly important that it be answered wisely at a time when all sorts of movements and varied kinds of propaganda are seeking the aid of the churches to assist them in achieving their respective purposes. It is everywhere recognized that the church is to be of use in the world; but of what use?

Broadly speaking it is the church's business to embody that peculiar spirit we call Christian, and to represent and conserve those spiritual values, out of which all that is best in life and character may spring. Prof. Eugene W. Lyman, of Union Theological Seminary, has given us a brief but suggestive article in the September *Journal of Religion,* on "Religious Education for a New Democracy." He holds, quite truly, that religion, in its deepest essence and in its most vital form, is a great creative energy, capable of achieving large constructive work in the social order; and that the Christian religion "in its great periods always has been fruitful of democracy"; that, in fact, Christianity is "the author of the

spiritual values out of which democracy has developed." The task of religious education then, from the view-point of democracy, is " to produce a great mass of socialized Christians."

Professor Lyman here places the finger upon the spot where our past religious education has been most seriously deficient. The truths of the Bible (which has been almost solely the text-book for the religious training of our children) have been almost altogether presented from the individualistic angle, and scarcely at all from that of social obligation. Furthermore, teaching of the facts and principles of religion has been by theory and precepts, with little of those accompanying activities which socialize the life of the pupil. Yet the Bible is at once a book of action and of social values. It is likewise a book that throbs with democracy. If rightly used, no better source-book can be found for the education of the new democracy than the Scriptures. Wherever known and followed they have advanced the spirit and principles of democratic institutions.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Moral Life of the Hebrews. By J. M. Powis Smith. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. April, 1923.

This is the most readable as well as the most exhaustive and most adequate treatment that has yet been made of the ethics of the people of the Old Testament. The discriminating touch of the scholar is in evidence on every page. Painstaking accumulation of all the relevant material, illuminating and accurate translations of many important passages, sympathetic acquaintance with the historic background of the various periods together with a good perspective of the movements as a whole, put this work in a class by itself.

The theme is the moral life of the Hebrews, and the author has rarely permitted himself to wander into alluring bypaths. A valuable feature for the average reader is found in the occasional footnote which gives the best literature on important topics and on the Old Testament books under discussion. Most convenient, also, is the insertion in the body of the page of all the Biblical references. These make an imposing array, and indicate the comprehensive research that preceded the appearance of the book.

Though brief, it is not sketchy. There are no areas of Old Testament literature that might make a real contribution to the question in hand that have been neglected. All are laid under tribute and are made to yield up their treasure.

Or is it always treasure? The morality of the preprophetic period is not very inspiring reading. The almost unvarying attitude toward woman in all the literature studied is far from winning approval in Western civilization. The continued appeal to the unworthy motive of material prosperity, in prophet and priest alike, does not suggest very profound conceptions of character or life on the part of many of the religious leaders. The early, crude ideas of God, held throughout the early centuries by even the most spiritual leaders of the nation, bear little resemblance to the teaching of Jesus on that subject. All this is presented with chapter and verse in its unglossed realism.

This was necessary. These imperfections and moral limitations are narrated in the Book itself, and whatever the apologist may do, the student cannot delete them. His sphere is the Book " from cover to cover," and distasteful as it may be to him personally, intellectual honesty demands the whole count. As a Christian he must at least be as honest and

as free from prejudice as were the early writers themselves. The author seems to register his own personal revolt against the paganism that was not only practised in the early Old Testament days but was held to have divine sanction, when he says " It may at first thought seem as if we had been reading a copy of the crime-sheet at the police headquarters of some large city " (p. 29).

The discussion opens with the earliest records. Forty-seven pages are devoted to the moral life previous to the eighth century. It ends with the ideals and conceptions in the second century B. C. The task is compassed in seventeen chapters. We are thus carried steadily forward through the days of pre-prophetism (47 pages), through the prophetic period (76 pages), then through the story of Judaism (164 pages). Under well-ordered discussions as to the God-idea, the attitudes toward the foreigner, toward woman, toward the poor, toward property rights and other similar topics, the expanding moral life of these people is made to pass in review.

The genetic relation existing between succeeding generations is always well presented. The life of Israel was marked by struggle from beginning to end. So it was, in passing from the nomadic to the agricultural and then on to the commercial type of life. It was always struggle, with the Canaanites, with petty neighbors, then with the great world powers. Then followed the captivity and the repeated attempts at reconstruction. Each turn of the wheel of destiny brought its series of problems and made religious as well as economic and social readjustment imperative.

Through many centuries of national struggle there constantly runs the question, Why? Why this defeat? Why this servitude, the fall of the city, this captivity, this personal suffering? Under the skilful hand of Doctor Smith we are introduced to the play of great life forces and see the Hebrew mind constantly at work on the solution of this very pressing personal problem.

The answers vary. Staunch conservatism frequently stood in the breach and pointed to the sins of Manasseh. But in the later periods there were many minds that refused to be lulled to sleep by this ready-to-hand answer. From these came answers that, in varying degrees, threw light on the perplexities of human life. All these movements in their relation to moral life are admirably presented by the author.

Nothing is more evident in all this study than the development of thought and morals. The closer attention we pay to the Old Testament as a whole the more overwhelming is the evidence. The theory that all Scripture is of equal value, that all really inspired men in all ages were

in agreement, that whatever is explicit in any part of the New Testament is implicit in all parts of the Old, has no standing-ground in the facts of the case.

The genius of these people was in their growth. Their ability to break with past customs and achieve the higher and better; to find in the harsh experiences of every-day life, the tragedies as well as the triumphs, the call to a greater loyalty, to a higher morality, to a nobler altruism; this, their capacity for progress is the surest evidence of the vigor of the people and of their divine election to a special service among the races.

In presenting this principle of growth so clearly Professor Smith has not only given the reader in convenient form and logical arrangement a mass of invaluable material, but he has added another much needed volume to the intelligent interpretation of Scripture. Apart from such a sane attitude toward the Bible the Christian world cannot make its greatest and most enlightened progress.

A significant departure is noted, in that the auuthor deliberately draws on sources outside of the Old Testament canon. Ecclesiasticus, the Apocalypses of Enoch, and the Aramaic papyri from Elephantiné are each given important space. This seems very wise and even necessary. The reading public is now interested in the Hebrew non-canonical writings. In themselves they are not only interesting but valuable. The study of the Old Testament is worthy of enrichment from every possible source. As the man is ofttimes known better when in his shirt-sleeves than when in his Sabbath attire, so may a people be revealed as truly by the incidental and the uncanonical as by its canonical literature.

Ecclesiasticus enriches the canonical picture of the ideals of the wise men. The various books of Enoch are the vantage-ground from which alone we can obtain the best perspective of apocalyptic literature. In this setting we are able to appreciate the message and worth of parts of Isaiah, Zechariah, and Daniel.

The Aramaic papyri are the basis of a whole chapter. It is not only germane to the general theme of the book, but is an invaluable first source for fifth-century conditions. It is patent evidence of what is too often a neglected fact, that the Old Testament is not a complete record of the Hebrew people. It shows how easily the Jew assimilated with his neighbors and took on color from his environment. The fact that Jehovah had a female consort in this Jewish colony will cause us to scrutinize our Old Testament again and ask the questions, Are there any remnants of this idea in our canon, and whence came the exclusion of this most common Semitic usage in the Hebrew religion?

Throughout the study Doctor Smith shows his independence and refuses to lose his poise. He is familiar with all the contributions of other writers, but has even more intimate knowledge of the original sources. He listens patiently to all the various theories and interpretations, ancient as well as modern, but consistently refuses to be stampeded by any of them. He knows no reason why the tenth "word" of the decalogue, which because it deals with motives rather than acts is considered late by many, may not be used as a source of information for the ethical standards of the pre-prophetic period (pp. 62, 63).

The attractive Kenite hypothesis, that the ethics of Israel find their roots in the nation's deliberate choice of Jehovah, a Kenite deity, does not win his allegiance. A single cause seems inadequate to account for the ethical splendor of Israel. The moral life of a people is always too complex to be traced to a single cause (pp. 63, 64).

The story of the marriage of Hosea is taken in the baldest literalism, and the best possible case is made out for the theory (pp. 87-90). Prof. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff, Wales, in "Prophecy and Prophets" that has just come from the press, accepts the same position. Then, the best of those leaders must have had pretty crude moral and religious ideas, judged by all modern standards.

In these restless days it is comforting to find so competent a scholar holding positions so essentially conservative. The Covenant Code is pre-prophetic; Deuteronomy is Josiahic; Deutero-Isaiah belongs to the time of Cyrus; Ezekiel's dates are all taken at face value; Zechariah 9 to 14 belongs to the fifth century B. C.; Jonah is in the fourth, and the Psalms are not all Maccabean—all this in spite of the fact that so many are finding evidences that are threatening the moorings of orthodox scholarship.

To follow through and draw attention to the values of the book is impossible. Habakkuk's contribution to the freedom of thought (p. 107); the interpretation of the message of Job; the author's own contribution to the solution of suffering (p. 277); the evaluation of the folk-tales of the third and second century; the defense of the apocalyptist's literary methods (pp. 314-318)—these and other real contributions need to be read in toto if their context is to be thoroughly appreciated.

Occasionally as we read questions come to the surface. Did not the furious campaigns of Assyria toward the west in 797, 773, 772, and 765, create a tremendous impression on the mind of the boy Amos? Did not this stimulate "that conviction that possessed his soul" that Israel was doomed to fall (pp. 73-75)? Was religion apart from ritual so absolutely inconceivable to the Hebrew mind (pp. 93-94)? Was not

ethical-monotheism equally so? We have this. Why not an ethical religion as well? Was it not a Hebrew of the Hebrews who later drove a permanent cleavage between ritual and religion? Or does Old Testament legislation represent the average man's morality (124)? Is there not in Deuteronomy considerable idealization? The hands may be those of the priest, but is the voice not that of the prophet? In P. legislation the conclusion is clear that it is to a great extent theoretical and idealistic (p. 129). No doubt interrogations along these and other lines have been canvassed by the author, and we have his mature judgment in his interpretations.

The book shows such careful type-setting and proof-reading that the inverted "t" (page 145, line eight from the bottom) seems like a fly in the ointment. The reviewer is unable to persuade himself that the verb in the thirteenth line from the bottom of page 101 should be in the plural.

More frequent paragraphing would greatly help the reader. We are carried forward, sometimes almost breathlessly, by the concise, staccato sentences and have wondered at the length of the paragraph. There are three or four pages at a stretch (pp. 130-133, 145-148) including four or five quite different divisions (pp. 167-169). This is not conducive to easy reading.

But why ask to have everything cast into your own mould? The author while adhering closely to his critical task has never been quite able to lay aside the mantle of the moralist. Asides, applying old principles to modern life, frequently light up the pages. No better word can indicate the point of view of the author than the last sentences of the preface:

> These men of spiritual insight still point the way of moral attainment to us, who search for the same great ends. The social passion of the prophets, the moral discernment of the sages, and the spiritual vision of the psalmists still challenge admiration. . . They will always stir the minds and inspire the hearts of lovers of righteousness.

In the judgment of the reviewer this is far and away the best book published on the subject.

I. G. Matthews.

The Birth of the Bible. A New Pathway to the Better Understanding of the Bible. By Theodore Heysham, Ph. D. Philadelphia. The Judson Press. 1923. Pp. 172.

To this volume is prefixed a "Testimonial," signed by twenty-four of the leading citizens of Norristown, Pa., where Doctor Heysham has made

full proof of his ministry for a quarter of a century. The book is quite able to stand on its own merits, but such recognition of the worth of his labors was fairly due the author. Another fact that adds interest is that Doctor Heysham is an alumnus of Crozer, of the class of 1897.

Among the numerous popular treatises on the history of the Bible, this is entitled to hold an honorable place because of two special characteristics. The first is, that it is an excellent outline of the facts regarding the Bible—the growth of both canons, and the various manuscripts, translations, and editions. Much of the current discussion of the inspiration and authority of the Bible reveals dense ignorance of these facts among those who should be well informed. The author has shown excellent judgment in the selection and grouping of his material. He has emphasized the matters that need emphasis and passed lightly over those of minor importance. The style is clear and attractive. The book is not too large for a busy layman to read, nor too difficult for him to master at a reading.

The other characteristic, and some would say the chief one, is that Doctor Heysham has made mastery and remembrance of the facts extremely easy by an ingenious chart. By printing this in colors, he has managed to present on a double-paged surface an entire conspectus of the history of the Bible text. As a method of at once elucidating his own text and impressing the cardinal facts indelibly on the memory, this is a pedagogic expedient of the highest value.

The author is occasionally incautious in his statements; as when he says (p. 15) that "for many years the fate of Jesus rested upon the accuracy of human memory and the integrity of human reports," and the accompanying guess that from twelve to twenty years elapsed before there were any written records. Sir William Ramsay has made out a very good case for the opposite hypothesis, that some of the disciples probably made notes during the lifetime of Jesus; while Mr. Flinders-Petrie has as good as proved that a brief Gospel was in use in the church at Jerusalem within ten years after the death of Jesus. On page 58 the effect of the fall of Constantinople on the development of the Renaissance is much exaggerated. There is an occasional slip in the English also, as where "bade" is made the past tense of "bid," when that word means "make a bid," and not "to command" (p. 99). These blemishes are very slight, such as no writer entirely escapes, while the merits of the book are many and great. It will prove serviceable for private study and for Bible classes.

HENRY C. VEDDER.

Life of Christ. Giovanni Papini. Freely translated by Dorothy C. Fisher. New York. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 408 pp., 8 vo. $3.50.

This is a book by a master. Master of what? Of eloquence, of satire, of devotion—of trenchant, turgid style, such as Carlyle would have used, such as has aroused the reading world to the nineteen-hundred-year-old story of the Nazarene. The book is new—copyrighted in 1923; written by an Italian in Italy; and Italy bought 75,000 copies in four months. Translated into English, seven reprints are called for in a few months, and it holds its place among the "best-sellers" in the American book mart. The translator asserts, what is disclosed on every page, that the author's purpose was to write a popular rather than a scholarly work. Papini himself says:

> The book we need is a living book, to set forth Christ the Ever Living, with loving vividness before living men.

Let Papini give some facts of himself:

> This book is written by a Florentine, a son of the only nation which ever chose Christ for its King. Savonarola first had the idea in 1495. . . It was taken up in 1527 and approved by a great majority. Over the door of an old palace a marble tablet was built into the wall, with these words:
>
> "Jesus Christus Rex Florentini"

However fine the quotation, it reveals where from, but not who. Papini was born a Catholic, became an infidel, a socialist of the nihilistic type; but his post-war conversion from the turbulent atheist to childlike love of Him whose matchless Life is now captivating a multitude of eager readers, has given him an exalted place in the Church into which he was born, yea, in the church universal.

Unlike Renan, Papini is a layman; Renan was destined for the priesthood, and deposed from his chair of Hebrew because of his heterodoxy. Unlike Renan who forsook his Church for rationalism, Papini left his infidelity for Christ and the Church before writing his masterpiece.

The real authentic Life of Christ is found only in the Gospels written by His inspired contemporaries. This will always remain true. Papini's is the latest of four Lives that have had world-wide reading in the century now past. Of the other three one may have equaled, but none surpassed this of the brilliant Italian. In 1839 Strauss disturbed the scholars of the world with his *Leben Jesu,* and the "mythical theory" of the supernatural. Its author was a trained Tübingen professor, and wrote for

the learned. His work, however, is mainly found in the libraries of scholars.

Twenty-five years after Strauss came Renan's Life. The French academician's book, with its learning, its charming style and daring heterodoxy, became the literary sensation both in the original French and in its English translation.

In the latter years of the last century, appeared a Life of Christ bearing a closer resemblance in spirit to Papini's than the two named. The author was a Frenchman well-known in the social and art world. Like Papini he was born a Catholic, but had forsaken his Church and lived the life of a worldly infidel. It need hardly be stated that his name was James Tissot, whom the gay world of Paris had missed for ten long years. Suddenly he appeared with the fruits of a retirement almost monastic in its severity. He had been converted from the world to Christ, and devoted ten years to Palestine with the Gospels as his guide; he had painted the Lord's life as he wandered over the scenes His feet had trod, with the result that gave the world his unique Life of Christ written with the brush of the painter.

The thoughtful world will think of these startling works—one German and two French—as it peruses this latest and most appealing Life of them all. Of the four Strauss alone was epoch-making though the least popular when it first appeared. The world waits for an equally captivating work from an Englishman or an American.

Is Papini Protestant or Romanist? The answer must be dug out of a vast, rich mine. He is Christian, so much is certain. The hundreds of New Testament quotations in the English translation are taken from Protestant versions, and no reference to the Rheims New Testament of 1582 appears in the book. This may be due to Mrs. Fisher, the translator, but presumably with the approval of the author. It has been claimed that the author spells Church with a small " c," but this is not always true, as may be verified on pages 12 and 396. There are passages in the book that clearly indicate scholarly independence as, for instance, a paragraph on Nicodemus:

> He is the eternal type of the luke-warm, who will be spewed out of the mouth of God on the day of wrath. . . But the church to reward his posthumous piety has chosen him to become one of her saints.

Notwithstanding the author's ethical interpretation of the Lord's teaching, and the absence of emphasis on ritual and ceremonialism; in spite of the evangelical character of much of the fascinating book, Papini is a Romanist, and he would have the reader know the fact. Speaking of himself as the author (p. 12) he writes:

Holding loyally to the words of the orthodox Gospels and to the dogmas of the Catholic Church he has tried to represent those dogmas in unusual ways . . . to see if he could startle modern souls into seeing the truth.

For his variety of views he offers in justification 1 Corinthians 9 : 21-23. It may be stated that Papini's Life is found among the show-books on the display counter of Catholic as well as Protestant book-shops. *The Catholic World* for May, in an exceptionally favorable review, thus commends the book: "No one interested in the life of Christ should make the mistake of ignoring this extraordinary volume."

In the face of these statements, it is also true that the book has numerous liberal paragraphs, some even of the "modernist" type. Speaking of the miracle of the cursed fig-tree as recorded in the first and second Gospels, he says:

The miracle of the cursed fig-tree is at the bottom nothing more than a very apparent gloss of the fig-tree of Luke.

The reader will readily note that this view disposes of a stubborn miracle by converting it into a parable. The fact is, Papini is the cuirassed knight whose lance-thrusts in turn support and repel all schools, conservative and radical alike.

Of the gentle Jesus, he says:

When Rousseau says that men are born good, but that society makes them bad, he turns inside out the doctrine of original sin. . .

But Jesus is the greatest overturner, the supreme maker of paradoxes, radical and without fear.

It is a two-world book; written for the world of religion, it has created equal interest in the world of letters. The work is designedly religious and incidentally literature. Quotations from the Gospels abound; some are from the Authorized Version, more are elaborate paraphrases that serve as commentary as well. Mosaics of different pertinent passages are given; but usually to frame a great truth, and seldom to formulate an argument. The style is frequently epigrammatic; always with strength of style and in freshness of spirit. Note a few excerpts:

They (miracles) were mighty works, victorious lightning-flashes from a superhuman power.

In every disciple is the seed of a Judas.

Jesus uttered the profoundest truth when he decreed the same penalty for hot words as for murder.

With Jesus a new phase of religion begins.

Jesus never said it was easy to follow him.

To the notorious Simon Magus of Samaria more than three hundred words are given; he draws largely on patristic sources, especially on Justin. He asserts with some details that Simon became the father of heresies. This could well be criticized as irrelevant; when it is remembered, however, that Hasting's Bible Dictionary devotes more than eighty-five thousand words to Simon Magus, Papini may be pardoned his three hundred.

The book is rich in illustrative material; contains references to the old classics, especially to the Iliad—to Zeus, supreme among the gods; to Achilles, greatest of the heroes; to old King Priam, "who kissed his enemy but with a kiss that signified neither forgiveness nor love."

Of the Manger at Bethlehem this:

> Born in a stable! What is the world but an immense stable where men produce filth and wallow in it? . . Upon this earthly pig-sty Jesus appeared one night born of a stainless virgin armed only with innocence.

The author's condemnation of rationalism is further evidence of his lack of Protestant view-point. As the friend of Bergson and disciple of William James he is enough of a philosopher to know that a certain amount of rationalism is in essential alliance with Protestantism, and that without the former the latter would be but a conglomeration of creeds and liturgies.

His sources of Truth are three: "Christ is in the Gospels, in the apostolic traditions, and in the Church." The reader is therefore not surprised at other statements of the Romanist author, such as, "John called sinners to wash in the river before repenting." The original Italian edition contains Papini's profession of faith in Jesus Christ and in his Church"; this passage is unfortunately omitted in the English work.

Of the four Lives referred to this is the most satisfactory—the most religious, even the most Christian. The pictorial Life by Tissot, while delightful, was composed, in the main, of pictures true to Catholic ideals. Papini treats the gospels with a kinship of spirit, warm and tender; much of the work carries the orthodoxy of direct quotation. Of the remainder what is not paraphrase is periphrase. All of it is interesting, much of it fascinating. This Life of Christ will have successors. Why not one by H. G. Wells, by Chesterton, by Hilaire Belloc? The last is a Romanist; Chesterton is a recent convert to the same Church; and Wells is in process as his later books testify. Sir Hall Caine, at the age of seventy, has announced his intention of completing his Life of Jesus begun thirty years ago. Papini doubtless shared his layman's reason that "the Jesus of the churches is a medieval figure that has little to do with the modern world."

A part of the background of the book is the Great War; apropos of the same, after quoting Jesus' words of peace and gentleness he writes:

> The law of love is the Magna Charta of the third race of men, not yet born. The first race was one of animals, without law, and its name was War; the second were barbarians tamed by law, whose highest perfection was justice. This is the race now living; but justice has not conquered War. The third is the race of real men, not only upright but holy, not like beasts, but like God.

This Life is marvelously strong on the ethical teaching of Jesus, just as it is regretfully weak on justification by faith, for which a twentieth century looks in vain in the volume. There comes the serious reflection, that it is possible to write a great book on the Gospels and miss the glad tidings. Without the Gospels the book might do harm; with the Gospels it may be a friend of sinners and a staff to saints. This sketch of a masterpiece may properly close with lines taken from the last page; they refer to the post-resurrection life of Christ:

> He is still with us; he is still present in the world which he meant to free. He is still attentive to our words, if they truly come from our hearts; if they are tears of blood in our hearts before being salt-drops in our eyes. He is with us an invisible, benignant guest, nevermore to leave us. Every day we raise our weary, mortal eyes to the Heaven from which He will descend in the terrible splendor of His glory.

ELI S. REINHOLD.

The Christian Revolution. By HENRY T. HODGKIN. New York. George H. Doran Co., 1923. $2.50.

One is naturally aroused by such a title. He is accustomed to "revolution," and he understands at least the conventional meaning of "Christianity." What then does Mr. Hodgkin propose? His book is a very unusual and stimulating reply, a reply which is not the less challenging when we give attention to his subtitle, "An Essay on the Method of Social Progress."

The appeal of the volume, particularly to religious leaders, is properly emphasized as one finds the author saying in his Preface:

> For eighteen months I have been engaged in very strenuous work, lecturing to students, Chinese and Japanese leaders, and foreign communities, mainly on social and international questions. It seemed almost hopeless to prepare the volume of my dreams.

Fortunately, however, the volume became more than a dream, and the reader finds that what the author saw as a vision has become a remarkably human and practical work on social relationships.

Something of its directness and its constructive character may be

seen from the outline which the main chapter-headings supply: "A World in Torment," "The Creative Dream," "The Way," "False Starts," "Changing the System," "The Home," "The School," "The Church," "The World of Industry," "The World of Nations," and "The Heart of the Matter." And these topics are discussed with a freshness and readableness which make the book worthy of the serious attention of every Christian minister and religious leader. Others may well take it into account.

FRANK GRANT LEWIS.

Christian Education and the National Consciousness in China. By JAMES B. WEBSTER, PH. D. New York. E. P. Dutton, 1923.

THIS volume of over three hundred pages is a constructive criticism of educational ideals and policies that govern missionary schools in China. The principles Doctor Webster lays down are equally applicable to educational efforts in all foreign countries. A proper recognition of the essential relationship of the material and the spiritual factors in life the author insists upon, since both must be involved if we are to realize Christ's ideal of the Kingdom of God. The extension of this Kingdom denotes not simply pushing a boundary-line from West to East, but implies growth from within. Schools, hospitals, etc., are a part of missionary effort, not simply because they provide a point of contact with individuals, but also because only through such agencies can the fulness of life which Christianity implies be realized and exemplified.

The social ideal in education is forcefully set forth. The true values involved in the religion of Jesus and transmitted through his personality, become effective to others through social contacts of natural human life. The Chinese character, and its possible rich contribution to the world, must be regarded in all educational programs for China. The author declares that the Chinese openly decline to accept Western theology and denominational distinctions, but take readily to a social interpretation of Christianity; and he regards it highly significant that the individualistic Western world should be thinking in social terms, just as the East is waking up to the value of the individual. It requires both ideals to make full-orbed Christianity. The force of Doctor Webster's main contentions is readily felt by the reader. But is it quite true that such a reconstruction of human society, as implied in Jesus' ideal of the kingdom of God, "calls for the fusing of class, national, and racial distinctions"? (P. 17.) It certainly calls for the destruction of class selfishness and special privilege, of all national rivalries, and of racial prejudice and hatred. But is it necessary to *fuse* Chinese, Americans, Englishmen, Japanese, and the rest of the nations and races, before the Kingdom of God can be realized?

Indeed, is not one of the main contentions of the able volume this, that Chinese must be educated *as Chinese,* and that the Chinese, as Chinese, have a valuable contribution to make to the progress of truth and life? We could wish for this volume wide consideration.

Doctor Webster's book is a noteworthy addition to the missionary and educational literature of the day, and in line with much of the best thinking of the missionary statesmanship of the times.

EDWARD B. POLLARD.

The History of Utopian Thought. By JOYCE ORAMEL HERTZLER, PH. D. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. 321.

A FIRST book by one of the younger group of sociologists, trained under Professor E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, which indicates that the author will be heard from again to good purpose. It deals with considerable unexplored territory, as well as with some very well known, and brings together much material never before assembled.

The author divides his book into two parts. The first half, which he calls "An Historical Review," is mainly expository; the second half, "An Analysis and Critique," is an attempt at evaluation.

It will surprise some readers who have thought little on the subject, to find the history of Utopias beginning with the prophets of Israel and continuued in the teaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God. But why not? Do the prophets, does Jesus, describe anything else than an ideal state of human society? Accepting the results of critical study of the Bible, but avoiding controverted questions as far as possible, Doctor Herzler attempts an exposition of the prophetic and Christian teaching, so far as it relates to social relations. He is by no means the first to undertake this task, but nobody has done it better, with clearer or more sympathetic insight into the literature. Especially satisfactory is his exposition of the teaching of Jesus and his Kingdom ideal. Nowhere, in the same number of pages, can a better account be found of the pure gospel of Jesus. Nor does the author end, as many expositors of the Kingdom ideal have ended, by declaring that it is no more than "an iridescent dream," beautiful, very attractive to a certain type of mind, but wholly impractical in a world like ours.

Plato's "Republic," the oldest and most famous of Utopias, receives the honor of an entire chapter, and deserves it. The social ideals of More, Bacon, and others less known, are grouped in a single chapter; and then follows a discussion of the French Utopian Socialists, Saint Simon, Fourrier, and the rest. In all these cases the exposition is ex-

ceedingly fair-minded and sufficiently full. This part of the book concludes with an examination of recent Utopias, of which Bellamy's and Wells' are the best known.

The critical half of the book is quite equal to the first. The chapter on "Utopianism and the Rôle of Ideas and Ideals" will be to many readers the most helpful in the book. It differs widely from many previous criticisms of Utopias and utopians in recognizing their real social value, instead of merely pointing out their defects and ridiculing their excessive idealism. The author makes it clear that Utopias have rendered a distinct and valuable contribution to civilization, in furnishing men with high ideals and stimulating their imaginations. Their value is testified by the fact that a large proportion of their details have proved capable of realization, and have been gradually incorporated into our civilization. Chapter IX is of almost greater value still, in that it points out how this result has been attained.

The final chapter, on "The Limited Perspective of the Utopians," is the least satisfactory of all, in that the author seems to give too much aid and comfort to those who would make heredity everything and environment relatively nothing—the sort of opinion expressed in the popular saying, "You can't change human nature." Notwithstanding all that the Weismann school has been saying about the persistence of the germ plasm and the transmission from generation to generation of unalterable characters, it is more than possible that biology has not yet spoken its last word on this subject. And there is already a vast accumulation of sociological evidence to support the assertion that "human nature" is the one thing you can change. If the biologist were entirely right, there would be no hope of human progress; if he were entirely wrong there would be no such thing as social stability.

HENRY C. VEDDER.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland. By PERCY G. SKIRVEN. Baltimore. The Norman, Remington Co. 1923. $10.

THE subtitle of this important volume—

wherein are given historical sketches of the ten counties and of the thirty parishes in the province at the time of the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland in 1692; also a short treatise on the religious situation in the provinces before the establishment, together with 56 illustrations and a colored map—

indicates its significance for the student of the religious history of Maryland. The careful reproduction of the colonial English spelling and other language characteristics, and the excellent work of the publisher, add to the attractiveness of the book. While it is not a work for the ordinary

private library, it is one of which any student of the history of Maryland will wish to know as occasion offers.

FRANK GRANT LEWIS.

The Freedom of the Preacher. By WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1922.

The Art of Preaching. By CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1922.

IT is not a usual event that two volumes of Yale lectures on Preaching should appear within a few weeks of each other. The forty-seventh and forty-eighth series upon the Lyman Beecher Foundation were delivered in 1922. This will doubtless account for the fact that none was forthcoming in 1923.

New York City has been called the "graveyard of preachers." It is difficult for an ordinary voice to be recognized above the din of the great metropolis. It is a notable fact that of the forty-eight courses of Beecher lectures, considerably more than a third have been delivered by ministers who have labored in Greater New York, and made their reputations there. Perhaps the Yale Divinity faculty, in making choice of lecturers, have been influenced by the reflection that those preachers who conquered the metropolitan graveyard are fittest, not only to survive, but to tell others how to do it. It is announced that the next lecturer in the series will be Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, also of New York.

Doctor Merrill has had a distinguished ministry at the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, as successor to Dr. Henry Van Dyke. The lecturer chose for the title of his volume "The Freedom of the Preacher," even though a predecessor in the course (1909), Canon H. Hensley Henson, had spoken upon "The Liberty of Prophesying," using Jeremy Taylor's famous title. Doctor Merrill's treatment, however, is quite different from that of the English Canon. The freedom of the preacher is discussed in relation to the several functions of Prophet, Preacher, Priest, Churchman, Administrator, in the social order, in the world order, and in Christ. The lectures, though they cover much old ground, are suggestive, stimulating, and interesting throughout.

Dean Brown had delivered the Yale Lectures for 1905-06 before he became connected with the Yale Divinity School. His theme then was "The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit." Others honored by more than one invitation to render this distinguished service have been but three, Henry Ward Beecher, W. M. Taylor, and Washington Gladden. Doctor Brown chose to return to the beaten track for his homiletical

topics, the majority of the lecturers in recent years having chosen themes somewhat aside from the plain art of sermon-making. The versatile Dean of the Yale Divinity School, because of his own skill in the art of preaching and his rare, chaste sense of humor, has proved himself able to take old subjects and make them live anew. The human touch is manifest throughout the eight addresses, which deal with the Significance, the Basis, the Content, the Measure, the Lighter Elements, the Delivery, the Setting, and the Soul of the Sermon.

The reviewer had the privilege of hearing several of these lectures and testifies that while, through the printed page, the reader catches somewhat of the personal charm of the fertile-minded lecturer, yet much is lost that the listener felt. The volume is a tonic for any preacher. The last lecture, dealing with "The Soul of the Sermon," brings the spiritual elements in preaching in particularly helpful review.

EDWARD B. POLLARD.

Religious Perplexities. By L. P. JACKS, D. D., LL. D., D. LITT. New York. George H. Doran Co.

ONLY three chapters—The Source of Perplexity, Religious Perplexity in General, and Perplexity in the Christian Religion—and we have presented one of the freshest and most challenging messages of the year. The author, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, is well known as, for twenty years, the editor of The Hibbert Journal.

The purpose of the book is not apologetic, nor does it aim to give "rational" or "profound" solutions of perplexities. It has an ethical and spiritual concern quite apart from mere argument on the problems of theology. It makes a stirring appeal to the reader to rise above perplexities which baffle reason, to faith which he views as neither a new faculty nor a substitute for "reason." "Faith," he writes, "is nothing else than reason grown courageous; reason raised to its highest power, expanded to its widest vision."

"Reason," "rational," if limited to thought processes after the manner of mathematical arguments, furnish a "logic" to each of the nobler and less noble within each of us—elements constantly at variance, and neither can best the other. On every occasion of apparent victory the battle is renewed.

The advent of "faith" is the point at which the "hero" in the man, the nobler in him, is getting the better of the less noble. "Defences of religion" are prone to sacrifice the higher logic of the spirit to the lower logic of the senses. The nobler soul resolves, on the other hand, to

create, by his own valor, a reason for his faith in life in the certainty that "the universe, indifferent to the coward, will be friendly to the hero. . ."

In the whole of the first chapter he is striking at whimpering half-faith and appeals to the spirit which, making adventures of faith, finds God and truth on his way. It is a searching challenge to mind and heart, and awakens the reader as its criticisms crash in on our smug repose.

Much has been made by some critics of the will-to-believe as the explanation of religion. Doctor Jacks offers that there is such a thing as the will-to-disbelieve, which is impervious to all appeals, and no reason so cogent that the will-to-disbelieve cannot find some means of casting doubt upon it. The will-to-believe is clearly connected with religion; but he maintained that religion is not based on it, but the will-to-believe is based on religion. Religion inspires a man to act on the faith that the best things are possible, and checks doubt at this point.

> It is God within the man which so acts, and the moment the man perceives its divine oirgin, the will-to-believe acquires a new energy. God is not a product, but the author and living principle of the will-to-believe.

The will-to-believe equips one to create new values in his own and others' lives.

Religion does not relieve one of his perplexities. There is no religion and no life of reason without them. The function of religion is to bring our perplexities to a focus, that we may see clearly the mystery we are met with in life; but it also reveals something within us of the divine which is equal to what we have to face. But it does still more—it enables us to rise above, to use and transform sorrow, pain, and even sin.

> If on the one hand it uncovers the pain of life and makes us feel it with a new intensity, on the other it liberates the love that conquers pain—a power mightier than death and sharper than agony.

Perplexity in the Christian traces to the fact that Christianity, in the official or authorized presentation of it, is a *smothered* religion, smothered by vested interests and by elaborate theological defenses; and centrally it traces to a reversal of primitive Christianity, which in Jesus put performance first and propaganda afterward. Today we have the reversal of this, with propaganda first and then performance. If we return to the simpler primitive way we will first *do* and then talk about it. There, Doctor Jacks believes, we touch the dynamic principle of Christianity and free it from its entanglements. In the beginning the deed was done, then

the word given, "Go thou and do likewise." This will make religion convincing and not perplexing.

The perplexities have arisen from reversal of the true order; from attempt to subordinate the thing done to the thing said; to lay the foundations in argument and propaganda; which can only be laid in actual performance.

SPENSER B. MEESER.

The Christian Faith and Eternal Life. By GEORGE EDWIN HORR. Cambridge. Harvard University Press.

THIS latest of The Ingersoll Lectures by the President of Newton Theological Institution, is the first by a representative of the Baptists, it is said. The approach is in striking contrast with that of the lectures preceding in the series; and is in the usual lucid and convincing style of the former editor of *The Watchman*.

The argument contrasts the outlook of Cicero and St. Paul upon a future life; treats the inheritance of Jesus through beliefs current in Palestine in his own time, including the Greek influence and Hebrew eschatology; and finds that Jesus sanctioned the main features of the Pharisaic tradition, but agreed with the Sadducees that resurrection is not resuscitation. Jesus, however, adds conviction to the faith by his own teaching of the fidelity of God to those loyal to him; by the relation of God as the heavenly Father; and by his assurances concerning the Kingdom of God. The author holds that the conception of "eternal life" throws light upon the faith, and that the resurrection of Jesus, confirmed in mystic experience, constitutes one of the many strands, of which the conviction of eternal life is woven.

These arguments are based upon clear insights into philosophical principles. The validity of judgments of value found generalizations of great significance. "The realm of personalities is a cosmos as well as the physical universe." "Identity of materials and forces in the entire universe," one of the most sweeping generalizations of science, is no more true than identity of procedure in the personal realm. Jesus found more than analogy in the normal actions of human persons when he likened God to a father or a loyal friend.

We have in our best normal human instincts and promptings the base-line of vast triangulations.

The conviction of the Pharisees as to the reality of future life was an achievement of spiritual experience, grounded in a profound ethical conception of the character and purpose of God, and a new appreciation of the worth of human personalities.

The conception of "eternal life" as a fellowship in loyal love and service suggests a present experience "so linked to the future that it involves immortality in every noblest sense."

In the historical resurrection of Jesus, which Doctor Horr says "must be construed *not* as a reanimation, but as an entrance into a higher order of life," he finds that

> something happened that convinced the disheartened disciples of Jesus that he had triumphed over the experience of death, and was not only alive, but that they were in actual relationship with the Living Christ.

This fact, if established, our philosophies will reckon with. "You may meet an argument with an argument, but you cannot meet a fact with an argument."

SPENSER B. MEESER.

Belief in Christ. By CHARLES GORE, D. D. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

IN the series on *"The Reconstruction of Belief"* this is the second volume, now in second edition, by Bishop Gore. The volume, like the first "Belief in God," is somewhat naively said to be "an appeal to men to think for themselves, and to think freely" and "does not concern itself with any question of orthodoxy, that is, of ecclesiastical authority." The author attempts to take a critical estimate of all the evidence which concerns the person of Christ and to show that the belief about him which results, grows out of the evidence taken all together; and that belief, best accounting for all the facts, is the traditional belief in the incarnation of the eternal Son of God.

He holds that the intellectuals are the victims of a delusion, and enslaved to the negative dogma, that the redemptive action of a personal God, as recorded of Christ, cannot really have occurred. If that inhibition be removed, the enquirer will be free and fresh study will substantiate the traditional belief.

This *"Belief in Christ"* presupposes the conclusion of the first volume. "Belief in God"—*the reality of a self-disclosure of God to men,* a doctrine, without which the fabric of Christianity is not possible.

In more or less the usual way, though with considerable concessions to criticism, the author follows the program of orthodox Christology, and relates the conclusion to the implied doctrines of the Trinity, Sin and the Fall, and Atonement.

SPENSER B. MEESER.